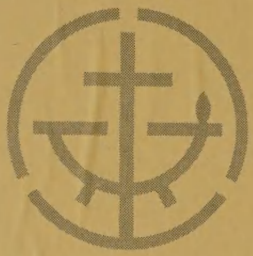
School of Theology at Claremont
1001 1357465



Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

DUKE · UNIVERSITY · PUBLICATIONS

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SERVANT

LONDON:
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK:
G. E. STECHERT & CO.

TOKYO:
MARUZEN AND COMPANY, LTD.

SHANGHAI:
EDWARD EVANS & SONS, LTD.

BUENOS AIRES:
J. LAJOUANE & CO.

BT
198
C3

Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant

BY

LEVY LEONIDAS CARPENTER, PH.D.
Professor of Religion in Furman University

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY

ALLEN H. GODBEY, PH.D.
Professor of Old Testament in Duke University

DURHAM • NORTH CAROLINA
DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929

COPYRIGHT 1929
BY DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE SEEMAN PRESS
DURHAM, N. C.

Printed in the United States of America

TO

MY WIFE

LUCILE O'BRIAN CARPENTER

TRUE HELPMEET

335926

PREFACE

The study of the Servant of Yahweh passages in Deutero-Isaiah puts us at once into contact with the deepest and finest revelation in the Old Testament. In the last two or three decades there has been much discussion and controversy in regard to these passages. The recent literature on the subject is abundant, but there is much confusion and lack of unanimity even among the greatest Old Testament scholars. It is difficult to deal with these "poems" in an adequate and satisfactory way even to oneself, much less so as to please the increasingly large number of interested readers and critics. But the study of this Servant idea is one of the most interesting and rewarding in the whole Biblical field.

My endeavor has been first to make a careful study of these passages as they appear in Deutero-Isaiah, and then to trace their usage and interpretation, in so far as it can be done, up through the Apostolic Fathers, by examining both Jewish and Christian literature. I have tried to bring together all references to, or even hints in regard to, the Servant passages or the Servant idea over this period of approximately six centuries. This provides really a historical survey, and thus puts the sources and references together in chronological order so that the reader can form his own conclusions, if he does not agree with the view or views advanced by the present writer.

My main problem, however, has been to determine the actual use and interpretation of these passages

in the canonical books of the New Testament itself, —especially to discover how the application of the Servant idea to Jesus arose and under whose influence, and why it did not become more prominent but instead seemed to become obscured and to drop out of use. Therefore to deal adequately with the idea in all its bearings in the New Testament, it has been necessary to try to find its earlier roots in Jewish literature and its later usage in the Apostolic Fathers.

The following pages were written originally as a doctoral dissertation at the Graduate School of Yale University. The study for the writer has been very interesting and richly rewarding. This has been made possible in no small degree because of the very kind and helpful advice of my teacher, Professor Benjamin W. Bacon, of Yale University, under whose direction the work has been done. It is with pleasure that I acknowledge my indebtedness to him. Mention should also be made of the helpful suggestions given by Professors Frank C. Porter, and Douglas C. Macintosh, also of Yale.

L. L. C.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface v

Introduction xi

I. The Origin and Development of the Doctrine in the Old Testament and in the Extra-Canonical Jewish Writings 3

I. *The Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah:* 1. The Servant Passages in Isa. 40-55. 2. The Authenticity of the Servant Passages. 3. A Brief Interpretation of the Four Servant Passages: Isaiah 42:1-4, 49:1-6, 50:4-9, 52:13-53:12. 4. Who is the Servant of Yahweh? — II. *Jewish Interpretation and Application:* 1. Later References in the Old Testament: Psalm 22, Daniel 12:3, The Septuagint translators. 3. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Psalms of Solomon. 3. In the Talmud and the Rabbinical Literature.

II. Application in the New Testament. I 44

I. *In the Teaching and Self-Consciousness of Jesus:* 1. At His Baptism. 2. In the Synagogue at Nazareth. 3. His Last Words to John the Baptist. 4. Predictions of His Death. 5. At the Transfiguration. 6. The Ransom-Passage. 7. His Words at the Last Supper. 8. "Reckoned with Transgressors." — II. *In the Earliest Christian Teaching: Acts:* 1. Evaluation of the Source or Sources. 2. Jesus Called the Παῖς. 3. The History and Usage of the Word Παῖς. 4. The Stumbling of the Cross. 5. "The Holy and Righteous One." 6. Philip and the Eunuch. — III. *In the Pauline Writings:* 1. What Paul Received from the Early Christians. 2. The Passages Based on Deutero-Isaiah. 3. His Interpretation of the Death of Christ—the Atonement. 4. Why the Doctrine is not more Prominent. — IV. *In First Peter:* 1. The Sufferings of Christ. 2. A Passage on Redemption (1:18, 19). 3. A Quotation from Isa. 53 (2:21-25).

III. Application in the New Testament. II 99

I. *In the Second or Teaching Source (Q.):* 1. The Temptation of Jesus. 2. Last Message to John the Baptist. 3. Thanksgiving and Gracious Invitation.

4. Wail over Jerusalem. — II. *In Mark:* 1. The Ransom-Passage (10:45). 2. The Saying at the Last Supper (14:24). — III. *In Matthew:* 1. A Quotation from Isaiah 53:4 (8:17). 2. Quotation of Isaiah 42:1-4 (12:18-21). 3. Words at the Last Supper (26:28). 4. The Mocking of Jesus on the Cross. — IV. *In Luke:* 1. In Chapters 1 and 2. 2. In the Synagogue at Nazareth. 3. "Reckoned with Transgressors" (22:37). 4. Sufferings and Death as Foretold in Scripture. — V. *In Hebrews:* 1. The Sufferings and Death of Jesus. 2. An Echo of Isaiah 53:12 (9:28). 3. Jesus' Life and Character. — VI. *In the Johannine Writings:* 1. In the Apocalypse. 2. In the Fourth Gospel. 3. In the Epistles of John.

IV. In the Pseudepigrapha and Extra-Canonical Fragments of the New Testament 136

I. *Servant Doctrine Confined to Petrine Tradition.* — II. *Preaching of Peter.* — III. *Gospel of Peter.* — IV. *Acts of Peter.*

V. In the Apostolic Fathers 140

I. *The Title* Παῖς *Rare.* — II. *First Clement.* — III. *Didache.* — IV. *Ignatius to Polycarp.* — V. *Polycarp.* — VI. *The Epistle of Barnabas.* — VII. *Hermas.* — VIII. *Epistle to Diognetus.* — IX. *Claudius Apollinarius.* — X. *Conclusions.*

VI. Conclusion 151

I. *The Use Made of the Old Testament Scriptures by the New Testament Writers.* — II. *The Real Sense in which Fulfilment is Found in Jesus.* — III. *The Prominence of the Doctrine Due Largely to the Petrine Influence:* 1. Does the Doctrine Go Back to Jesus Himself? 2. Early Disciples Appeal to Scripture in Explanation of the Death of Jesus. 3. The Petrine Tradition and Influence. 4. Peter's Vision of the Glorified Christ. — IV. *Why the Doctrine of the Servant was Neglected and Obscured:* 1. The Jewish-Christian Reaction to Neo-Legalism. 2. The Dangers of Abuse. 3. The Rise of the "Higher" Christology.

Bibliography 171

Biblical References 179

Index 181

INTRODUCTION

WHO IS THE SERVANT OF YAHU?

BY

ALLEN H. GODBEY

WHO IS THE SERVANT OF YAHU?

Dr. Carpenter's study is timely. In the renewed devout research in the records remaining of the life of Jesus of Nazareth it may be granted that scholars of all schools and methods earnestly seek the elemental facts. But such sincerity does not insure equal certainty or reliability. Our intellectual furniture varies, and this variation results in approach from different directions, with different tools of research.

On one fact all are agreed: men do not begin life with a fully developed theology; it grows as they grow, always striving to embody an answer to experiences and questionings. The chronological element inevitably enters into all researches into common life, and into the Life that was the Light of men, and into men's efforts to phrase their conceptions of that Life. But it is generally much easier to say how a given fact will affect thinking than to prove by a study of the thinking what was the original fact. In the case of the New Testament certain chronological successions of events are well established. Dr. Carpenter, accepting these, shows that there were concurrently various ways of speaking of Jesus in the early church. That is, they occur in a definite chronological order. With this fact established, men may still differ as to which mode of speaking of Jesus is of final importance. Three stages in the growth of dogma will be for some minds three conflicting dogmas.

Dr. Carpenter puts clearly before us the fact that

early thought and phraseology about Jesus was dominated by the "suffering Servant" songs in Isaiah. This means far more than the casual or popular Bible-reader knows. For the masses, a particular construction of Isaiah 53 is all that is known. But if all the "Servant of Yahu" songs are quoted in the New Testament in speaking of Jesus, then it is imperative to know what ideal they expressed when uttered, and if the same ideal persisted in speaking of Jesus.

We are very far from anything approaching unanimity in the exegesis of the "Servant of Yahu" songs. No one view has more than a small minority of advocates. We are then permitted to make a further exegetical suggestion, and to ask if prepossessions as to the unique character of ancient Israel have been responsible for the failure to recognize the "Servant of Yahu." Dr. Carpenter states clearly the varied explanations of the Ebed-Yahu songs and the difficulties involved in accepting any one of them; and he gives the leading exponents of each theory. These views are (1) that the "Servant of Yahu" is some historic character, despised and persecuted by his countrymen; (2) that he is a mythical figure, retouched in the interest of Yahwism; (3) that he is a specific future personality in Israel, one day to appear as "Messiah"; (4) that the Servant is the collective historic Israel; (5) that he is a personification of the divine ideal of Israel, preconceived from the beginning as a missionary to the world; (6) that he is a personification of the spiritual Israel, the best of the nation, in whom alone lay the hope of

the future; (7) the order of the prophets; (8) some section, fraternity, or esoteric group in Israel. As stated, not one of these theories fits all the passages. As they stand, Israel is in the majority of cases spoken of as "The Servant." How reconcile these with those in which the Servant is not Israel? Is it possible that "Israel" has been inserted into songs setting forth a lofty personal ideal, to give to the historic Israel of stiff-necked, brazen-browed idolatry (Isaiah 48:4-16; 43:22-28) a vision of its own possibilities? In that case we should recognize some great non-Israelite missionaries of Yahu striving to win the people Israel.

It must be said that there are data in the Old Testament pointing in this direction and that the inadequacy of any of the above theories is the result of disregarding them. First of all is the assertion that Yahu-worship was unknown to any of the early Aramean patriarchs (Exodus 6:3), and that no outstanding distinctions in moral ideals are attributed to them; yet there is an ancient cult of Yahu asserted in Genesis 4:26. "Israel" then is in early times not a missionary people, but an object of missionary effort. Secondly, the existing political régime in Babylon is pictured in Deutero-Isaiah as the enemy of Israel's spiritual and political possibilities. Yet all will be changed when Cyrus triumphs. But here in this adverse Babylonia is proclaimed a personal ideal, a triumphant note and a world-mission and an intellectual-moral conception of Yahu beyond any now remaining from pre-exilic Israel. The exiles have certainly found some powerful local spiritual reinforce-

ments. And, far from assuming that Israel is the only Servant of Yahu, this great voice asserts that there are "foreigners" who are worshippers of Yahu, whom petty Israelite Yahwists strive to exclude: contrast Isaiah 56: 3 ff and Deuteronomy 23: 1 f. It is clear that this great preacher is setting forth an ideal character which can be realized by any individual or by any people.

We must further recognize that being the "Servant" of any god is not peculiarly an Israelite idea. We find it everywhere in the Semitic world, as far back as extant records go. "Obadiah" or Ebed-Yahu in Israel is far later than Arad. É.A. or Arad-Yahu in the cuneiform. Nor is the idea strictly Semitic: a devout Irish Romanist may call himself "Gil-Mary" —"Servant of Mary."

Again, the bare title expresses no ideal. What is the conceived character of the god? Every ideal in personal life turns upon this. It is not true to say that all depends upon a monotheistic or unipersonal conception of a god. Trinitarians succeed in clinging to Three Persons, so long as they are of One Nature. On the other hand, Mohammedanism, stubbornly contending for One Divine Person, sadly fails in the moral nature attributed to Him. The nature of the god is the matter of supreme significance.

But even if men agreed upon a lofty ideal Yahu, what manner of man is his ideal Servant? It will be rightly said that this depends upon the conception of Yahu. But hosts of men do not see that clearly. Saul of Tarsus did not see it clearly in his earlier years. His early ideal of a "Servant of Yahu" was not that

which he wrote in 2 Timothy 2:24 f.; 1 Timothy 6:11 f.; Titus 3:1-3. It will be recognized that the effort to picture an ideal servant of any god is implicit in humanity's religious quest from the beginning, and that conceptions of the ideal Servant of Yahu may be as far apart as Deuteronomy 13 and 1 Corinthians 13—as far apart as Thomas de Torquemada and William Penn or Clara Barton. We have to recognize that in any case, in the ancient exiled Israel some effort to picture the personal character of an ideal Servant of Yahu was a chief necessity of the situation (cf. Psalm 15); and that this portrayal was not necessarily limited to any one person or people: it might be realized by any. Yet the memory of some heroic personalities may have colored the portrayal here and there, even as Paul challenged his disciples: "Brethren, be followers together of me, and notice those who walk by the sample you get from me" (Philemon 3:17). It is certain that such pupils would illustrate by Paul, in endeavoring to picture the ideal Christian. Men always do that way.

It is well to point out here the Old Testament evidence that the religion of Yahu came into Israel from some outside source, and that, as a corollary, some ideal of a "Servant of Yahu" came from the same source. The exact character of that original ideal may not be in question; yet the "meekness of Moses," the first historic exponent of Yahwism in Israel, may reflect that ideal.

The positive assertion that the name *Yahu* was unknown to the masses of Moses' fellows and their

ancestors, and unknown to any of the early patriarchs, either in Harran or Palestine (Exodus 3:13, 6:3) must be accepted. Its introduction at this point in the narrative is decisive. Equally positive is the assertion that the Yahu-cult had a historic origin in the ancient East: "He was first to call with the name Yahu" (Genesis 4:26). There is no known historic reason for rejecting this assertion, and there is no conceivable reason why Israelite fanatics, claiming sole knowledge of Yahu, should invent a story that the cult originated with an Eastern Gentile, ages before Abraham's time. An Israelite fanatic, insisting that Palestine was Yahu's own and only land, might be expected to give us a cosmogony expressing that fact. Instead, we have the assertion of beginnings in a region east of the Upper Persian Gulf, "where the God Yahu does not make it rain on the land, yet man does not need to irrigate the soil, for a mist rises and waters the whole face of that district" (Genesis 2:5 f.), which indicates the ancient coastal plain of what we now call Khuizistan, still the garden spot of all Persia. From thence Yahu transplants (*nata*[6], used forty times in the Old Testament, always of transplanting trees, vines, shoots, etc., something already growing; never of planting seed, sowing grain, etc.) into the Edin-na,—the Sumerian term for the low terrace next above the alluvial flood plain,—a cultus park "from the east" (Genesis 3:24). There is no historic reason for rejecting this simple statement, which a partisan of Palestine as Yahu's own land would not have made. Nor is there reason to reject the statement that the "cherubim"

guards were brought "from the east" (Genesis 3:24); nor that the "nomad land" (Genesis 4:16) was "east of the Edin-na"; nor that a postdiluvian immigration came "from the east" (Genesis 11:2). The discoveries of an ancient culture apparently superior to the Sumerian, extending through southwest Persia, Seistan, and Beluchistan, into the fertile valley of the Indus, establishes the possibility of the correctness of the Genesis passages. And Egyptologists are now pretty well satisfied that the original impulse to rapid cultural development came into the Valley of the Nile from this eastern region. Too many evidences of early "Elamite" influence in the Nile Valley have been discovered to leave much room for doubt upon that point, though we do not know the historic personalities by whom the culture was introduced. So also we have no historic reason for rejecting the statement that the mother of Moses was Jocebed, "Yau-kebed" ("Yau is glorious"). That we do not yet know the historic agency by which, during the Hyksos period, the cult of Yahu in the east reached Hebrews in Egypt is no reason for denying the fact. An acceptable literary analysis must use the above facts as points of departure. No Palestinian or Israelite partisan would have invented them. But this means that the Yahu-cult may have still been strong in the region whence it came to Palestine, and that the exile may have consolidated spiritual forces, producing the post-exilic preëminence of Babylonia as a center of Judaism.

We noticed above the rebuke of petty Israelites who did not wish to recognize foreign worshippers

of Yahu (Isaiah 56: 3 ff.) Among the fragments in this Deutero-Isaiah collection is one that seems the wail of those who have felt Israelite scorn (Isaiah 63: 15 ff.):

Look down from heaven and see
From thy glorious and holy abode!
Where are thy zeal and thy might,
Thy yearning pity and mercy?
Restrain thyself not!
For thou art our Father!
Though Abraham know us not,
And Israel acknowledge us not,
Thou, O Yahu, art our Father
Our Redeemer from of old is thy name! . . .

We may remember the assertion in Isaiah 14: 1 f. that the foreign Yahwist ought to inherit on equal terms "with the house of Israel."[1]

Now we must mark this great exilic idealist's especial interest in the "Sea Land" of the cuneiform inscriptions, the "Coast-lands" of the Old Testament (A. V. "Isles"). He uses "Coast-lands" in a special restricted way not found in other Old Testament passages; he promises deliverance to them as directly and pointedly as to Israel. "The Servant of Yahu brings forth right to the nations (all those in exile); he will not waver nor yield until he has established justice in the land, and the Coast-lands are waiting for his teaching" (Isaiah 42:4).

Sing to Yahu a new song!
His praise from the border of the land!

[1] For a fuller portrayal of the long struggle of the nobler idealists to end Israelite contempt for foreign Yahwists, see my forthcoming book, *The Lost Tribes A Myth.*

Let the sea roar, and that which fills it!
The Coast-Lands, and they that dwell there! (Isaiah 42: 10)

Be renewed (so LXX) before me, ye Coast-lands!
Let your nations put on new strength [lit. "exchange strength"]
Then let them approach; then let them speak,
Together let us come for judgment! . . .

The Coast-Lands are seeing and fearing!
The borders of the land are trembling!
They draw near—they are coming! (Isaiah 41: 5)

Hearken to Me, O ye peoples!
O Nations, give ear to me!
For instruction shall go forth from me
And my truth as a light to the peoples.
My pledged word draweth near (fulfillment) in a moment
My deliverance is on its way,
My arms shall decide for the peoples!
The Coast-Lands shall hope in me
And on my arms shall they put their trust. (Isaiah 51: 4 ff.)

Thus it seems unquestionable that the great preacher thinks of Israel and the Coast-lands as fellow sufferers for a common ideal, and that he proclaims a common deliverance. Had we the Sea-Land's own collection of his messages of cheer, it might prove as large as Israel's. In Isaiah 49: 1-6, the "Servant" declares that his task is far more than to inspire hope in Israel:

1. Listen, You Coast-Lands, to me!
   Hearken, ye peoples from far-lands!
   You called me from my birth (cf. Jeremiah 1: 4 f.)
   From my mother's womb He gave me my name.

2. He made my mouth like a sharp sword,
   In the shadow of his hand He hid me!

He made me a polished arrow,
In his quiver He concealed me.

3. He said to me, You are my Servant [Israel]
Through whom I will show forth my glory. (Gordon)

Moffatt omits "Israel" in verse 3 as inexplicably confusing. He does not think that a contrast between a real Israel and a merely nominal one solves the difficulty. Gordon, Davidson, Whitehouse, Skinner, and others have so thought. In Romans 9:16 we have such contrast between individuals. The real difficulty is that in verse 5 the "Servant" is "formed from the womb" again to be such as "to cause Jacob to return unto Yahu, and to gather Israel again unto Him." As the Servant never thinks of Yahu as specially restricted to Palestine, this statement of purpose can only mean "to bring Israel to repentance." So the Servant cannot be "Israel," nor "Israel" the Servant, in any line of this song. Then if the word "Israel" in verse 3 is a later interpolation, in how many other Servant passages may that be true? The original "Servant" ideal then may have been voiced before there was an Israel; and a later egotistic Israel, claiming to be the realization of that ideal, may have adapted the songs to that profession.

The Comforter concludes this declaration of his mission thus:

Too slight a thing it is from your being my Servant
That I should but raise up the tribes,
That you cause the tribes of Jacob to arise,
And cause the survivors of Israel to return home.
So I am appointing thee a light for all the nations, (Jeremiah 1:9 f.)
That my deliverance may be unto the ends of the land!

The whole passage, being addressed to the Sea-Land, with its "peoples from afar," vividly contrasts with the apostrophes directed to Babylon. In no case is there a threat against the Sea-Land; in each case there is comfort and encouragement; the Sea-Land here is to share in the deliverance that Israel experiences. The Sea-Land seems to be the district (Eridu?) to which the cultus-park of Yahu was transplanted (Genesis 2:8). Could this great Comforter have been a Sea-Lander himself? His identification of Yahu with the God that smote Rahab and pierced the Sea-Dragon of the cuneiform myth has long been familiar, and should be remembered here (Isaiah 51:9 f., 15 f.).

It would appear that the Servant of Yahu is not Israel, nor any one nation only, nor any one individual, but the cheering evangelist of that age, inspiring new hope and courage in all alike who will receive him. He seems the ideal of a meek and suffering man who yet has courage and dauntless faith and power to comfort—an Ideal Man that the Yahu-cult was striving to produce in every age and among any people. And any man might sometimes speak of himself as striving to realize that personal ideal; and so might any people; or they might on occasion be addressed as such.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SERVANT

I

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN THE EXTRA-CANONICAL JEWISH WRITINGS

It is necessary first to establish the historical background and determine what the historical basis was for the primitive Christian application of the doctrine of the Servant; to get the true historical interpretation of the idea as found in the Old Testament and especially in the Servant passages in Isaiah 40-55. What idea and meaning were in the prophet's mind when he penned those words, his original thought apart from any later interpretations of his thought? Then it will be our task to try to understand the extra-biblical non-Christian Jewish usage and interpretation of the prophet's teaching and doctrine of the Servant.

1. The Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah

1. The Servant Passages in Isaiah 40-55. The idea of the Servant is very prominent in these sixteen chapters, and especially striking in 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9, and 52:13-53:12, the so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs." Our special task here will be to try to understand these four great passages.

There are certain passages wherein the idea of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah is presented very definitely and clearly. Israel has been elected to this position for the sake of mankind. This view of Is-

rael's position among the nations is expected in the title "Servant of Jehovah," which is applied to the people in passages too numerous to quote, but found only in the first nine chapters (41:8; 42:19, 20; 43:10, 12; 44:1, 2, 21; 45:4; 48:20). In these places there is no room for doubt as to the subject which the writer has in mind. "It is the historic nation of Israel, represented in the present chiefly by the community of exiles, but conceived throughout as a moral individual whose life and consciousness are those of the nation."[1] The personification is at times very bold; as when Israel is said to have been formed "from the womb" (44:1, 2), or when Jehovah speaks of "all the remnant of the house of Israel" as having been "borne by me from their birth," and promises to carry them "even to old age, and to hoar hairs" (46:3, 4); at other times the collective nature of the conception is suffered to appear (43:10, 12, etc.). But the clear meaning here is that the actual people of Israel is intended. Nor is this the first place where the term "servant" is employed in this sense. It is used by Ezekiel in 28:25 and 37:25, where Jehovah speaks of "the land that I have given Jacob my servant," and it is found also in Jeremiah 30:10, in a sentence which sounds very much like Deutero-Isaiah: "Therefore fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, saith Jehovah; neither be dismayed, O Israel," etc. (so also Jeremiah 46:27).

Comparing the different connections in which the name occurs, one finds the thoughts associated with

[1] J. Skinner, "Isaiah," vol. ii, *Cambridge Bible*, Introduction, p. xxxi.

it to be these two: (1) that Israel has been adopted by Jehovah of His free grace and brought into a peculiar relation to Himself. The words used are many: "called," "chosen," "created," "formed," "made"; but all these refer to one fact, the formation of the people at the time of the exodus from Egypt, or it may be to the call of Abraham out of Chaldea. And (2) the thought is that of a mission entrusted to the nation of Israel by Jehovah. This is naturally suggested by the word "servant"; and it is made still clearer by Isaiah 42:19: "Who is blind but my servant? or deaf as *my messenger that I send?*" and other passages.

But there is another class of passages where this application of the title "Servant of Jehovah" to the actual Israel is not so clear (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12). The close resemblance between these passages and those spoken of in the last paragraph must not be overlooked. The *formal* idea expressed by the term "servant" is precisely the same in the two cases. New features are added to the description which seem to be inapplicable to the nation as a whole, but the conception of the office of the ideal Servant does not go beyond the two elements of an election by Jehovah and a commission to be discharged in His service. What makes it difficult in the last group of passages to suppose that the Servant means Israel merely is not so much the intense personification of the ideal (although that is very remarkable and has weight with many people); it is rather the character attributed to the Servant and the

fact that he seems to be distinguished from Israel by having a work to do on behalf of the nation.

The question as to who is meant by the Servant of Yahweh in these passages is the most difficult problem in the exposition of these chapters. That question I shall take up later; but first let us consider the matter of the authenticity of these four Servant passages which stand out so prominently in Deutero-Isaiah.

2. The Authenticity of the Servant Passages. The question to be considered here is whether the four striking sections which we call the Servant passages (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12) are distinct from the rest of chapters 40-55 or not. Some hold that these sections were by the same author, but were inserted later; others, that they were composed by a different author; whereas the usual view perhaps has been that we have identity of author and identity of meaning in the use of the term "servant."

The following are the main points which have influenced some scholars to believe that we have to do here with two different authors: (1) the abruptness with which the Servant passages are introduced in the work of Isaiah 40-55 and the alleged fact that they can be separated from their context without any detriment to it; (2) the conception of the Servant as an ideal personality in contrast to the "blind" and "deaf" servant of Deutero-Isaiah; (3) the difference between the quiet and unobtrusive method pursued by the ideal Servant (cf. 42:2, 3) and the way in which Deutero-Isaiah publishes his message to all the

world; and (4) the carefully constructed form of the poems, all of which except 50:4-9 exhibit the same rhythm.[2]

To discuss adequately these points would take us too far, and would not serve materially the main matter. But a few observations will be in order. Isaiah 42:5-7 presuppose the preceding four verses. In chapter 49 the case is precisely similar: verses 7 ff. presuppose verses 1-6. A careful study will show that these poems fit into the context very well after all. In 42:18-20 the Servant is viewed according to his actual condition, and the reproof is in order to challenge Israel to more faithful endeavor. There is nothing very strange in this. The actual Israel did not live up to her high vocation in every particular, and it was the usual thing for a prophet to mix reproof with his messages of comfort and assurance. The prophet manifests a different spirit as he deals with different themes and situations, and the quiet and unobtrusive method of the Servant does not seem unnatural in this context. Undoubtedly these poems have a distinct rhythm, but the difference of style and vocabulary is not of a nature to convince as to difference of authorship. A man's form of expression does not have to be the same in every paragraph. A large liberty must be allowed here.[3]

The Servant is commonly judged to be Israel. This is the simplest and most natural of collective

[2] See Burney, *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1912, pp. 115 ff.

[3] On identity of authorship, see A. S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, pp. 34 ff.; on difference of authorship, Skinner, "Isaiah," Chapters XL-LXVI, *Cambridge Bible*, Appendix, pp. 257 ff. The different sides of the question are considered carefully by these two scholars.

interpretations, as well as the most ancient. It identifies the Servant with the *nation of Israel* as it actually existed in history. It is the most natural inasmuch as it extends to the Servant poems the sense in which the title is used elsewhere in chapters 40-48. Its antiquity is proved by the insertion of the words "Jacob" and "Israel" in the LXX of 42: 1, and the occurrence of "Israel" in the Hebrew and Greek texts of 49: 3. Even if both of these be regarded as cases of interpolation, the fact remains that at a very early time the national reference of the title was accepted for at least two of the Servant passages. This theory which prevailed among post-Christian Jewish interpreters,[4] and was adopted by scholars like Rosenmüller, Hitzig, and Reuss, has of late years experienced a remarkable revival; and at the present time commands the votes of perhaps a majority of Old Testament critics (among many others, Giesebrecht, König, Budde, Peake, etc.). But this theory is hard to maintain at two points, to say the least: (1) the first is its interpretation of 53: 1 ff.; (2) the other is the explanation of 49: 5, 6.

Since it seems difficult to carry through any single clear-cut definition of the Servant of Jehovah, some expositors have sought a solution of the problem in a combination of different points of view which occupy in succession the center of the prophet's thought. For instance, Delitzsch and G. A. Smith hold that the idea undergoes a progressive contraction and individualization in the mind of the writer, from the historical Israel at the base of the represen-

[4] Origen, *Contra Celsum,* I, 55; Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimshi, etc.

tation, to the ideal Israel, or the spiritual kernel of the people, and finally to the person of an individual, the expected Messiah. But we take up the matter of the identity of the Servant in the fourth section on, "Who is the Servant of Yahweh?"

3. A Brief Interpretation of the Four Servant Passages. Before going further in regard to the various theories as to who the Servant is or who is the subject of these poems, let us look at the sections themselves and note carefully the description of the Servant. The first question to be considered is, What is the Servant of Yahweh? and the second, Who is the Servant of Yahweh in these sections of Isaiah? This is the logical order in which to take up these two questions. After we have studied carefully the characteristics, the description, of the Servant as found in these passages, then, and not until them, shall we be prepared to deal with the further question as to who the Servant is in Reality; and then we shall find this second question made a great deal simpler. There is considerably more unanimity among scholars in regard to the first matter than to the second.

As an introduction, let us note the first passage wherein Deutero-Isaiah speaks of Israel as the Servant (41:8-10). Here the election of the Servant is stressed. The main fact emphasized in this passage is the irrevocable choice or election of God, by which Israel was from its origin in Abraham constituted His servant (cf. 43:10; 44:1 f.; 49:7). The following ideas are connected with the Servant: (1) the servant became so by the *choice,* the election, of

God; (2) the servant is Israel, Jacob, seed of Abraham; (3) the servant became so, when "taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called from the corners thereof" (probably referring to the choice of Israel as effected in the call of Abraham; at other places called creating him, the forming of him from the womb, etc.); (4) it seems implied in the address that Israel was conscious of being a servant: "I said to thee, Thou art my servant." Then follows an assurance that God will stand by His servant and help him, and give him victory over all his enemies, and remove all obstacles that lie in his way. Nothing is said here as to the office of the servant or his duties.

The title "servant" is used here in its simplest and widest sense, being applied to the nation as a whole, thought of as the posterity of Abraham, as it existed toward the end of the exile. The other passages in Deutero-Isaiah which clearly apply the title "servant" to the nation Israel in a similar way, as we have seen, are 42:19 ff.; 43:10, 12; 44:1, 2, 21; 45:4; 48:20 (cf. Jer. 30:10 f.; 46:27 f.; Ezek. 28:25; 37:25).

In the first of the "Servant poems" (Isaiah 42:1-4) Yahweh is the speaker. The mission of the Servant and the quiet method of his teaching are emphasized.

As to metrical structure, this poem is divided into three stanzas, each consisting of two rhythmically regular and for the most part parallel distichs (vv. 1; 2 *plus* 3a; 3b *plus* 4). In verse 1 the LXX reads Ἰακὼβ ὁ παῖς μου ("Jacob my servant"), and in the next line, Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου ("Israel my cho-

sen"). This is an unauthorized insertion, but interesting as showing how readily ancient readers identified the Servant with the nation.

The features of the portrait in this passage are the following: (1) starting from the thought of 41:8 ff., the *election* or *choice* of the Servant by Jehovah; (2) the equipment of the Servant with the divine Spirit; (3) the mission for which he is raised up, viz., to bring to the heathen a knowledge of the true religion *(mishpāt);* (4) the manner and spirit of the Servant's working: quiet and gentle, the method of meekness and peace (unlike the older prophets, he will not loudly proclaim his message in the public ways; or, in contrast to the military violence and pomp of the other nations); (5) his unwearied devotion to his calling, and his success (v. 4).

In verses 5-7, we have Jehovah's promise to Israel, based on the preceding description. The dependence of these verses on vv. 1-4 is now admitted even by Duhm, who formerly thought that the Servant poem could be eliminated without injury to the context (cf. 49:6; 61:1, 2).

In the second passage (Isaiah 49: 1-6), the Servant himself is the speaker. He bids the distant heathen nations hearken, and tells them how Yahweh has chosen him from his birth, prepared him for his prophetic work, kept him in His protection till the time was ripe, and announced to him his call to be His servant, through whom He would win to Himself glory. He then tells of his seeming failure and of his great destiny.

Metrically this poem falls into six stanzas (1, 2, 3

plus 5b, 4, 5a, 6) exactly resembling the three of 42: 1-4. Duhm strikes out the word "Israel" as an incorrect gloss in v. 3. Even some of those who accept the identification of the Servant with Israel admit that this is possible even if not probable (so Skinner, Marti, and Giesebrecht). There is no good reason for assuming it to be a gloss, unless we adopt the view that the Servant is an individual. Rhythm, though not decisive, on the whole favors the retention of the word. All the versions read it, and it is omitted in only one Hebrew MS (Kennicott 96). Giesebrecht[5] thinks the whole of v. 3 may be an insertion. Vv. 5 and 6 have been a stronghold of those who hold that the Servant cannot be identified with the historic Israel, since in these verses they appear to be expressly distinguished, and it seems to be affirmed that part of the Servant's mission is to restore Israel from Exile. Some scholars use drastic means in getting rid of the apparently awkward expressions. For instance, Giesebrecht[6] argues at length that the lines, "to bring Jacob again to him, and that Israel be gathered unto him," should be struck out as a gloss, occasioned by the gloss in v. 6. A large number of scholars hold that the clause in v. 6, "that thou shouldest be my servant," is a gloss (Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Giesebrecht, Peake, etc.). In v. 5a the subject of the verse may be either Jehovah or His Servant ("that *he* might bring," or "that *I* might bring"). But whatever views may be taken of these clauses, the Servant is distinctly conceived as having

[5] *Der Knecht Yahves,* p. 49.
[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 40-66.

a mission to fulfil for the people of Israel. And in any case there is nothing very strained in speaking of Israel as having relations with himself. Israel the Servant may be conceived of as having a mission to Israel the aggregation of persons.[7]

But, looking at this section now in its clear, definite meaning, we see the following characteristics of the Servant: (1) his consciousness of a mission entrusted to him by Jehovah at the beginning and his equipment (vv. 1-3); (2) the despondency of the Servant, his failure in the past, and the sense of disappointment caused in him by the apparent fruitlessness of his labor, though his faith in God remains firm (v. 4); and (3) the removal of his doubts by a revelation of the greater purpose for which Jehovah has raised him up, namely, to be a light of the nations, that Jehovah's salvation may be to the ends of the earth (vv. 5, 6). And so this passage forms the natural sequel to 42: 1-4, and adds some fresh features to the portrait there presented. At the last (49: 6) we see an enlargement of the Servant's conception of his vocation. No longer is the significance of the title "Servant of Jehovah" exhausted merely in a mission to Israel, but now it is revealed to him that the name includes a higher function, that, namely, of being the mediator of salvation to all mankind.

In the third passage (Isaiah 50: 4-9) the Servant is again the speaker. Although the "Servant" is not named (see, however, v. 10), it is practically certain

[7] Cf. Beecher, *The Prophets and the Promise*, p. 281; and Skinner, "Isaiah," Chapters XL-LXVI, *Cambridge Bible*, p. 100.

that this poem belongs to the cycle of Servant passages, on account of its close affinities with the other members of the group. "It is needed, in fact," says A. S. Peake,[8] "to form the transition from the two earlier poems, in which the Servant is simply the teacher of the nations, to the last passage, 52:13-53:12, in which the martyrdom and exaltation of the Servant are the main theme."

The metrical scheme of this poem is different from that of the two earlier Servant poems, and is somewhat obscure. So far as rhythmic lines can be discovered they are of the elegiac type (pentameters). Duhm, and some others, divide the passage into three four-lined strophes, but this is still less obvious. How far the irregularities are due to textual corruption, and how far to license of form, it is impossible to say.[9]

There is much difficulty in translating satisfactorily a part of v. 4, "that I may know how to sustain with words him that is weary" (R. V.). Peake translates: "That I might know to answer the godless with upright words" (based partly on emendations suggested by Graetz, Duhm, and Giesebrecht). "I gave my back to the smiters" (v. 6), should be compared with Ps. 129:3, where the same figure is applied to the sufferings of Israel as a nation.

The Servant begins his soliloquy with a description of his close relation to Yahweh, who has given him "the tongue of disciples," that is, the faculty of

[8] *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 41.
[9] Cf. Skinner, "Isaiah," Chapters XL-LXVI, *Cambridge Bible*, p. 113; and see Peake's translation, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, pp. 48-50.

trained speech by which he can utter the needful word. Yahweh is the one who sustains him and reveals His message to him every morning, which message he has loyally accepted (vv. 4, 5). He has accepted and patiently endured the cruel indignity and punishment which he has had to encounter in the discharge of his commission (v. 6). And, in the last place, he expresses his unwavering confidence in the help of Jehovah and the victory of his righteous cause and the discomfiture of all his foes (vv. 7-9). This is our first introduction to the martyrdom of the Servant. In conflict with his adversaries he endures his sufferings patiently and trusts fully in Jehovah. His sufferings are regarded here from an ethical point of view as brought on him by faithfulness to his divine mission. In 52:13-53:12 it is the religious aspect of them that is mainly dwelt upon: their value in the sight of God, and their efficacy for the salvation of men.

The fourth great section (Isaiah 52:13-53:12) is by far the most important, and the most difficult. Now we are introduced to the *suffering* Servant, and there is pictured to us his humiliation and exaltation. No longer is he portrayed mainly as the ideal prophet and teacher, for the conception of the Prophet is all but displaced by that of the Man of Sorrows, the meek and patient martyr, the sin-bearer. The passage consists of fifteen verses, divisible into short sections of three verses each. The metrical and strophic form is the same as in the first two Servant-poems. The exact number of tetrastichs cannot be certainly determined because of the imperfect pre-

servation of the text. In order to show more clearly the five natural divisions and the metrical form of the passage, and also the features of the character portrayed, I transcribe here George Adam Smith's excellent and suggestive translation.[10] The author says, in introducing his translation: "Here is now the prophecy itself, rendered into English quite literally, except for a conjunction here and there, and, as far as possible, in the rhythm of the original."

I

Behold, my Servant shall prosper,
Shall rise, be lift up, be exceedingly high.
Like as they that were astonied before thee were many,
—So marred from a man's was his visage,
And his form from the children of men!—
So shall the nations he startles be many,
Before him shall kings shut their mouths.
For that which had never been told them they see,
And what they had heard not, they have to consider.

II

Who gave believing to that which we heard,
And the arm of Jehovah to whom was it bared?
For he sprang like a sapling before Him,
As a root from the ground that is parched;
He had no form nor beauty that we should regard him,
Nor aspect that we should desire him.
Despised and rejected of men,
Man of pains and familiar with ailing,
And as one we do cover the face from,
Despised, and we did not esteem him.

[10] *The Expositor's Bible,* "Isaiah," vol. ii, pp. 342-345; cf. also Peake's translation, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament,* pp. 51-59, with many excellent critical notes.

III

Surely our ailments he bore,
And our pains he did take for his burden.
But we—we accounted him stricken,
Smitten of God and degraded.
Yet he—he was pierced for crimes that were ours,
He was crushed for guilt that was ours,
The chastisement of our peace was upon him,
By his stripes healing is ours.
Of us all like to sheep went astray,
Every man to his way we did turn,
And Jehovah made light upon him
The guilt of us all.

IV

Oppressed, he did humble himself,
Nor opened his mouth—
As a lamb to the slaughter is led,
As a sheep 'fore her shearers is dumb—
Nor opened his mouth.
By tyranny and law was he taken
And of his age who reflected,
That he was wrenched from the land of the living,
For My people's transgressions the stroke was on him?
So they made with the wicked his grave,
Yea, with the felon his tomb.
Though never harm had he done,
Neither was guile in his mouth.

V

But Jehovah had purposed to bruise him,
Had laid on him sickness;
So if his life should offer guilt offering,
A seed he should see, he should lengthen his days.
And the purpose of Jehovah by his hand should prosper,
From the travail of his soul shall he see,
By his knowledge be satisfied.
My Servant, the Righteous, righteousness wins he
for many,

And their guilt he takes for his load.
Therefore I set him a share with the great,
Yea, with the strong shall he share the spoil:
Because that he poured out his life unto death,
Let himself with transgressors be reckoned;
Yea, he the sin of the many hath borne,
And for the transgressors he interposes.

The contents of this passage may be indicated somewhat as follows: (1) The passage opens with Yahweh's prediction of His Servant's approaching exaltation. This is presented in contrast to his past abasement. Just as many had turned with abhorrence from his countenance, disfigured so as to seem no longer human, "so shall the nations he startles be many," and kings be made dumb with amazement at his unexpected elevation (52: 13-15).

Let us note three critical questions involved in these verses. The Revised Version renders the word *Yaskil* (v. 13) "shall deal wisely," but the word "prosper" in the margin best gives the force of the Hebrew, which means both to "deal prudently" and to "prosper" or succeed, and this translation fits the context. Peake and Marti accept Budde's interesting emendation *Yaskil,* "Israel." Giesebrecht thinks it rather arbitrary, and retains the present text, translating "shall prosper." It seems clear that for "at thee" (v. 14) we should, with the Peshitta and Targum, read "at him," the change to the second person being very awkward. We follow A. S. Peake here rather than G. A. Smith. Instead of "so shall he sprinkle many nations" (R. V., v. 15), we should render with the margin "so shall he startle many

nations," that is, "cause them to spring" in surprise, or perhaps better, "cause them to rise up suddenly" in reverential admiration.

(2) The prophet now proceeds to describe the career of the Servant and the impression he had made on his contemporaries (53: 1-9). But at once the important question is, Who are the speakers in this section? The view that they are the heathen nations, which is an early Jewish theory and which is now very widely accepted by scholars, is perhaps the correct one. In fact the whole passage from v. 1 to 11a appears to be spoken by the Gentiles, whose astonishment at the change in the fortunes of the Servant (Israel) has just been alluded to (52: 15). But Skinner argues against this view, concluding "that the spectators whose thoughts are here divulged are Israelites."[11] "Our message" (R. V., v. 1), should be as in the margin, "that which we have heard." "Before him," i. e. Jehovah, should probably be "before us" (v. 2; so Ewald, Cheyne, Giesebrecht). The word translated "his generation" *(doro)* is a well-known crux. Peake says: "It is simplest, though as Duhm says not necessary, to read with Cheyne, who is followed by Marti, *darko* 'his way,' *i.e.,* 'his fate' (cf. Ps. 37: 5; Isa. 40: 27)." Peake seeks to bring the expression "my people" (v. 8) into harmony with the identification of the Servant with Israel by translating; "that for our rebellions he was smitten to death" (so Budde, Marti, etc.). It is best to hold to the usual translation and

[11] "Isaiah," vol. ii, *Cambridge Bible, ad loc.*

perhaps regard Yahweh as speaking here, "for My people's transgressions."

But what are the features of the Servant in these verses? His origin was poor and contemptible; he grew up like a dwarfed plant in a barren soil. The nations found nothing attractive in him, but rather despised and forsook him. While they looked upon the Servant as proved by his sufferings to be an exceptional victim of Divine wrath, it was their own pain and sickness that he was enduring. "Their rebellion caused his suffering, his chastisement procured their peace and wrought out their healing. They had gone astray in self-will, and Yahweh had inflicted on him the penalty of their sin. With lamb-like meekness he endured oppression, and was taken away without justice, while none pondered on his fate, that he was smitten to death for the sin of the nations. After his death he was buried in a dishonored grave, though he was innocent of violence or deceit."[12]

(3) The Servant's ultimate glory and exaltation (53: 10-12). "The tenth and eleventh verses are justly regarded by many scholars as almost incurably corrupt" (Peake). The main thought, however, is reasonably clear. The Servant is to be the instrument in establishing the true religion, by removing the burden of guilt and bringing many to righteousness. As the reward of his sufferings he will enjoy a brilliant future and have a numerous spiritual

[12] Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 43.

"seed." He will become a great power in the world, attaining a position like that of a mighty conqueror.

4. Who is the Servant of Yahweh? We have tried to answer the first question, What is the Servant of Yahweh? and we are now ready for the second, which is much more difficult, What subject had the prophet present to his own mind when speaking of the Servant in these passages?

There is much unanimity among scholars in defining the characteristics of the Servant, for the picture presented to us in these sections is reasonably clear. The features of the description given in the Servant poems, as we have seen, are as follows: (1) He is one called and chosen of God, from the beginning of his existence, for a unique and glorious mission, and endowed with the Spirit of God for the discharge of that mission (42:1 f.; 49:1 ff.; 53:10 ff.). (2) This mission is two-fold: to bring back Israel to Jehovah (49:5 f.; 53:1 ff.), and to extend the true religion to the world at large (42:1, 4; 49:6; 52:15; 53:12). (3) The Servant is to be an ideal prophet, patient and faithful in the discharge of his work, quiet and unobtrusive, gentle and tender towards those who are the objects of his spiritual ministry (42:2 f.; 49:2; 50:4). (4) Despite contumely, enmity, and opposition, he has the assurance that his cause will finally triumph and that his very sufferings are the path to glory (50:6 ff.; 53:7 ff.). (5) He is faithful even to death; and, after his death, his contemporaries, moved to penitence by the spectacle of this innocent one suffering in meekness and patience, see that his unmerited sufferings were

the vicarious atonement for their sins (53: 1 ff.). (6) Thus his career is crowned with success (42: 4); as the reward of his labors he is exalted in a way that excites the wonder of the kings and peoples of the world (52: 13-15).

"I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other?" (Acts 8: 34) Who is the Servant? The question as put by early Christian expositors took mainly this form: In whom have the features of the Servant in these passages been seen in fact? And the answer in every case was, In the Christian Messiah. And, indeed, when the question is put in this form, modern scholars return the same answer, for no other can be given. The realization of the prophet's great idea came in Jesus of Nazareth, whatever subject the prophet himself may have had in mind. This conclusion is not one based merely on the authority of the New Testament and its application of several passages of these prophecies to Christ; it is a conclusion to which any reader of the history of our Lord, who considers his spirit and methods of work, must arrive on his own judgment; it is supported by the testimony of Christ's own consciousness and is seen in the voice at his baptism, his reading of Isaiah 61 in the synagogue, and his last message to the Baptist. But as historical students we must go back behind this final question and its answer and try to determine what subject the prophet actually had in his own mind and how the figure was understood by the men of his time.

Since the appearance of Duhm's commentary on Isaiah, *Das Buch Jesaia,* (Göttingen, 1892), keen dis-

cussion has been waged over the question of the Servant. The question has been studied from practically every angle, and numerous hypotheses have been advanced. The main question is whether the Servant is an individual or Israel, the various views being divided in general into two great classes, the individualistic and the collective.

Let us notice first some theories based upon the former point of view. The credit of establishing to the satisfaction of many recent scholars that the Servant is to be regarded as an individual belongs to Duhm. He assigned the *'Ebed-Yahweh-Lieder* to a different and later hand than that of Deutero-Isaiah, but the Servant himself was a contemporary of the author of the poems. The Servant was a religious teacher ("Thoralehrer"), and a leper, despised and persecuted by his countrymen. Kittel and Sellin revived an earlier view that the Servant in Isaiah 52: 13-53: 12 was Zerubbabel, who was supposed to have been put to death by the Persians for revolt in connection with a Messianic movement. In his *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde* (Leipzig, 1901), Sellin substitutes for Zerubbabel another descendant of David and identifies the Servant with the king Jehoiachin.[13] Bertholet[14] refers 53: 1-11 to the sufferings and death of Eleazar, a martyr in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. 2 Macc. 6: 18 ff.). Gunkel's suggestion (worked out by Gressmann, and adopted by

[13] Approved by Rothstein, Staerk, Van Hoonacker, and Kittel in part.

[14] *Zu Jesaja 53,* Freiburg, 1899.

Haller, and others) that the Servant was originally a *mythical figure* borrowed from one of the Asiatic cults and transformed into an eschatological ideal under the influence of Hebrew religion, has but little to commend it. The theory rests mainly on regarding 53: 1 ff. as a hymn sung by a worshiping community, supported by one item of external evidence (Zechariah 12: 10 ff.).

There is a group of scholars who find in the Servant passages a direct prophecy of the *future Messiah.* Of the deep and permanent religious value of such an interpretation we are assured by its influence on the mind of Jesus and the consistent witness of the New Testament. It may have been the common Jewish belief before the controversy with Christians led to its abandonment. As we shall see in our discussion further on, the Targum of Jonathan, and both the Talmud of Jerusalem and the Talmud of Babylon, recognize the personal Messiah in Isaiah 53; the Targum also identifies him as early as in Isaiah 42. This view seems to have been accepted by Jews in the time of Justin and Tertullian; and it is freely referred to in Jewish writings of the Middle Ages as the traditional Rabbinical interpretation. Among modern scholars it has been maintained by Delitzsch, Orelli, G. A. Smith, Ley, Laue, Condamin, Van Hoonacker, and others. Delitzsch and G. A. Smith hold to a combination of views: that the idea undergoes a progressive contraction and individualization in the mind of the writer, from the historical Israel at the base of the representation, to the ideal Israel, or the spiritual kernel of the people,

and finally to the person of an individual, the expected Messiah.

The strength of the individual interpretation lies in the fact that the language of some of the passages, and especially of 52:13-53:12, seems to point to some definite individual in the prophet's mind. Probably some will always find it impossible to believe that this language can refer to anything but an individual. But there are some very strong objections to this view. (1) We must reckon with the fact that the Servant passages are at present found in a prophecy in which the Servant of Yahweh is identified with Israel; there are therefore strong reasons why we should expect the same term to be used in the same sense throughout the prophecy. (2) This identification is actually made in the present text of one of our Servant poems, "Thou art my servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified" (49:3). Other objections to the individual interpretation will appear as we note the strong arguments for the identification with the historical Israel.

The collective theories of interpretation may be divided into three main classes: (1) The theory which identifies the Servant with the *nation of Israel as it actually existed in history.* This view is held by Giesebrecht, König, Budde, Peake, and others. (2) The Servant is conceived as a *personification of Israel according to the Divine ideal* which is the ground of its vocation from the beginning and which is being progressively realized in its history. This view is maintained by Davidson, Driver, Kirkpatrick, Dillmann, and others (cf. W. J. Beecher). (3)

The Servant is *a personification of the spiritual Israel,* the religious kernel of the people, on whom the sufferings of the Exile fell most severely, and with whom the hope of the future lay (Bleek, Knobel, Whitehouse, and others).

In addition to the three main classes of collective theories, we have also: (4) that the Servant represents the *order* of prophets (Gesenius, Staerk); and (5) a group of theories which isolate the poems from the structure of the book and regard the Servant as an idealization of a particular section of the Jewish people. (See the theories of Bertholet, Cheyne, Roy, Kennett.)

5. *Identification in some sense with Israel.* We are indebted especially to K. Budde[15] and K. Marti[16] for taking the exegesis of these passages out of the forest of hypotheses and putting it on a more solid foundation of sober consideration of facts. Their argument was strengthened by the very able and thorough discussion of F. Giesebrecht,[17] "and it may be considered as henceforward a position that is not likely to be shattered, that even the so-called 'Ebed-Yahweh Songs are the work of Deutero-Isaiah, and that their subject is Israel, with its call to serve a missionary function to the Gentiles."[18]

And so the conclusion at which we arrive is that, despite the features which seem so strongly to point

[15] "The So-Called 'Ebed-Yahweh Songs' and the Meaning of the Term 'Servant of Yahweh' in Isaiah, Chaps. 40-55" in *Amer. Jour. of Theol.,* July, 1899, vol. iii, pp. 499 ff.
[16] *Das Buch Jesaja,* Tübingen, 1900.
[17] *Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterojesaja,* Königsberg, 1902.
[18] See E. Kautzsch, *Hastings' D. B.,* Extra Vol., pp. 707 f.

to a person, we should accept the identification of the Servant in some sense with Israel. If we recognize the fondness of Hebrew poetry and prophecy for far-reaching personifications of collective notions, and understand 53: 1 ff. as spoken by the Gentiles, all the declarations about the Servant combine into a reasonably intelligible whole. The questions as to whether the Servant is conceived as a personification of Israel according to the *Divine ideal,* or a personification of the *spiritual Israel,* the religious kernel of the people, are not of such vital importance, for we must allow the prophet freedom in thinking of the subject (Israel) under different aspects. When the prophet has to speak of Israel's election and its great mission to the world in the plan of God, his words naturally refer to the whole body of the nation; but it is equally natural that, in the passages which have in view the vicarious suffering of the Servant and his missionary function, not the unfaithful and sinful should be thought of, but only the truly pious kernel of the people, who seek God and have penitent hearts. It may be Israel according to its election, according to its ideal in the plan of God, or it may be Israel as it actually measured up to this idea, but it is Israel all the same and all the time. The objections that the description given of the Servant does not correspond to the actual character and career of Israel, or that the Servant and the historical Israel are expressly distinguished (cf. 49: 5, 6; 53: 8), do not carry much weight in the light of this very reasonable principle. We must not be too prosaic and too literalistic in our treatment of these great poems.

The idea of a vicarious penal suffering of Israel for the Gentile world, in order to bring salvation to the latter, is so extraordinary and unique that one can easily understand how it has called forth all kinds of explanations, and that again and again voices are still raised in support of the contention that the direct reference of 52:13-53:12 to the vicarious suffering of Christ (cf. Acts 8:32 ff.; 1 Peter 2:22 ff.) is the only one that meets the necessities of the case. And, as a matter of fact, Christians are entitled to see the complete fulfilment of this very remarkable prophecy only in the person of Christ. But nothing is taken from its significance in that direction through our interpreting the Servant of Yahweh, so far as the mind of the prophet was concerned, primarily as Israel. The prophet did not see in the future a definite individual, known to history as Jesus of Nazareth; but his great idea of Israel as suffering vicariously for the sins of the world found its actual realization in the Man Christ Jesus. He may be truly conceived of as the concentration of Israel. "The conception of such an individual is wholly new in Prophecy," says A. B. Davidson, "and it is the creation of this profound prophet. The conception was verified in the Messiah when he came; and, though it be a conception altogether different from the former Messianic conception of a King of the house of David, and though probably the Prophet never brought the two conceptions into connexion, the progress of history and revelation showed how both coalesced in one Person and be-

came the complements of one another. This is the sense in which those interpreters who find an individual in these prophecies under the name of 'Servant' are entitled to call the individual the Messiah."[19]

II. Jewish Interpretation and Application

1. Later References in the Old Testament. The references to the Servant passages in pre-Christian Jewish writings are very rare, and, if found at all, are vague and uncertain. Consequently it is very difficult to determine the Jewish usage and interpretation before the New Testament period. I shall bring together the evidence now extant, and do the best I can in drawing our conclusions from this meagre evidence. It seems strange that there should be so little evidence of the influence of these profound passages upon the later literature.

Psalm 22. The first passage showing the influence of the Servant poems is Psalm 22. This psalm has been accepted generally as a prophecy of the Messiah's sufferings uttered by the Christ in his own person. But it is not, strictly speaking, Messianic; for it speaks not of an ideal King but of an ideal sufferer. It is not unreasonable, however, to see in the picture of the ideal sufferer here portrayed the realization above all human expectation in the passion and death of Jesus; and a psalm which Jesus himself quoted as he hung on the cross (Psalm 22:1; cf. Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34) makes a

[19] "Servant of the Lord," *The Expositor,* vol. viii, Second Series.

unique appeal to the human heart.[19a] But the Servant of Yahweh is probably the speaker in this psalm. There are several reminiscences of the Servant poems, and the thought of the conversion of the heathen is expressed, and apparently connected with the sufferer's deliverance (vv. 27, 28). "But I am a worm, and no man" (v. 6) is an echo of Isaiah 41:14. The speaker is exposed to the contempt of the heathen (vv. 7, 8; cf. Isaiah 53:3; 49:7), who jeeringly say:

> He trusted on Jehovah that he would deliver him:
> Let him rescue him, seeing he delighteth in him.

(cf. Matthew 27:39-43, Mark 15:29-32). The reference to the Servant in Isaiah 40-55 is emphasized by the closing words of the sentence: "seeing he delighteth in him" ("He has pleasure in him"—Peake), which reminds us of Isaiah 42:1, and, if Marti's reading in 53:10 is correct, "But Yahweh has pleasure in His Servant," of that passage also. His confidence that Yahweh was his sustainer and helper from his mother's womb (v. 10) shows a

[19a] Compare also Odes of Solomon 31:8-12, where Christ is made to say:

> And they condemned me when I rose up;
> Me who had not been condemned.
> And they divided my spoil,
> Though nothing was due to them.
> But I endured and held my peace and was silent,
> That I might not be moved by them.
> But I stood unshaken like a firm rock,
> That is beaten by the waves and endures.
> And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake:
> That I might redeem my people and inherit it.

(Harris and Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, ii, 370.) This is an interesting echo of Ps. 22, the influence of which psalm is seen also in the 28th Ode.

reminiscence of Isaiah 46:3; 44:2, 24; and 49:1, 5. The sufferer now describes the attack of his enemies, who may be the heathen nations. As nothing is said of sin as the cause of his suffering, it is strange that it should be treated as an inexplicable mystery and no reference be made to its vicarious character. Nevertheless the evidences of the influence of the Servant passages on this striking picture of the ideal sufferer seem to be conclusive.

Daniel 12:3. The next reference to the Servant poems is to be found perhaps in Daniel 12:3. The phrase "they that turn many to righteousness" is in the Hebrew closely akin to the clause in Isaiah 53:11: "by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many" (or "make many righteous"). The occurrence in both passages of the Hiphil of s e d e q combined with the mention of h ā r a b b î m ("the many"), which is such an important word in the latter passage, would indicate some connection. We should not, however, draw the conclusion that Daniel identified the faithful "teachers" of whom he speaks, who after days of tribulation were to attain to glory, with the suffering Servant of Isaiah, although the latter is similarly represented after days of sore distress as receiving his just recompense of reward.

The Septuagint Translators. The Septuagint translators considered Isaiah 42:1-4 as referring to the nation Israel; for in the first verse they have added the names "Jacob" and "Israel" as explanatory respectively of the titles "my servant" and "my chosen." The addition of these names is unauthor-

ized, but for that reason the more convincing as evidence that ancient readers identified the Servant with the nation, at least in this poem. No such explanatory gloss has, however, been introduced into any part of 52:13-53:12, and an examination of the LXX rendering of that great passage throws no light of great significance on their understanding of the interpretation or subject of the prophecy.

2. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Wisdom of Solomon. In the pre-Christian Wisdom writing, the *Wisdom of Solomon,* we find phraseology borrowed from Deutero-Isaiah, and the references specially made to the prediction respecting the suffering Servant of Yahweh are numerous enough to enable us to see the general lines of the interpretation. The Isaian suffering Servant has become Israel the Servant-son. The title παῖς is used not in the sense of "servant," but "son" of God and interchangeably with υἱός (cf. 9:4, 7, 12:19, 20), as a designation of Israel, God's agent "through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be given to the race of men" (18:4). The Revised Version, however, is probably right in 2:13:

> He professeth to have knowledge of God,
> And nameth himself servant of the Lord (Παῖς Κυρίου).

The margin has "child"; Vulgate, *filium;* Goodrick, "the Lord's child." Cornely takes παῖς as meaning "servant," and justifies this by its use in Deutero-Isaiah. Gregg says: "But as παῖς is the regular LXX. rendering for '*servant* of the Lord' in Isaiah 41:8, 9 and often, and as vv. 16, 18 deal with the

sonship of the righteous man, παῖς here probably points to the less intimate relation."[20] But it cannot be denied that the title as used here is ambiguous, and that the sense of "servant" (Hebrew 'e b e d) is partly lost in the process. The dropping of παῖς in favor of the unambiguous υἱός is the final third stage. This suggests at least one reason why the conception of παῖς Κυρίου drops out so early in favor of the more definite and theological conception of υἱὸς Θεοῦ.

But the whole passage (2: 10-21), which gives a protracted tirade by the wicked against the righteous man, should be studied carefully to see the undoubted echoes of the Isaian Servant passages. As in Isaiah, so here there is uncertainty as to the subjects involved. Some would see in these verses a reference to wealthy and apostate Jews, who persecuted their humbler fellow-countrymen who would not deny their faith; while others see in "the righteous" one of the Book throughout a collective designation for the pious in all ages; and yet others see Israel, the Servant-son, persecuted by the heathen. But let us examine the passages which show reminiscences of the Isaian Servant poems.

As we have seen, the Isaian title appears in 2: 13: "And nameth himself servant (παῖς) of the Lord." "He is grievous unto us even to behold" (2: 15) reminds us of Isaiah 53: 3; and "Because his life is unlike other men's" suggests 52: 14. The likeness of 2: 18 to Matthew 27: 43 has led some to suspect

[20] J. A. F. Gregg, "The Wisdom of Solomon," *Cambridge Bible, ad loc.*

a Christian interpolation here; but compare Psalm 22:8 (LXX) and for this verse in Wisdom compare especially Isaiah 42:1: "Jacob, my servant, I will help him" (LXX). "That we may learn his gentleness" (2:19) introduces us to one undoubted characteristic of the suffering Servant, "gentleness" (cf. 2 Corinthians 10:1; Philemon 4:5). "Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray" (2:21; cf. 5:6). The Greek is ἐλογίσαντο καὶ ἐπλανήθησαν; cf. the use of λογίζομαι in the LXX of Isaiah 53:3, 4, 12, and πλανάομαι in Isaiah 53:6. "Nor did they judge that there is a prize for blameless souls" (Gr. ἀμώμων, 2:22),—compare in reference to Christ, the greatest Servant of all, Hebrews 9:14 and 1 Peter 1:19.

In this passage in the second chapter we have a description of the suffering and of the shameful death to which the Righteous one is exposed by enemies who deride his claim to be the Servant of the Lord and to have knowledge of Him. Because he claims that "God is his father," and believes that "if the righteous man is God's son He will uphold him" (2:16, 18) the wicked put him to a shameful death, to see if his words are true. The martyrdom issues in a crown of immortality for the Righteous Servant; for

> The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
> And no torment shall touch them . . .
> Their hope is full of immortality (3:1, 4).
> They that trust on him shall understand truth[21]

[21] Gr. συνήσουσιν ἀλήθειαν; cf. ἴδου συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου in Isa. 52:13.

> And the faithful shall abide with him in love;
> Because grace and mercy are to his chosen (3:9).

With "his chosen" (3:9), "Being found well-pleasing unto God he was beloved of Him" (4:10), "For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord" (4:14), compare Isaiah 42:1, "My chosen, in whom my soul delighteth."

Further on the writer represents the wicked as recognizing their folly at last, and speaking thus of the righteous:

> We fools accounted his life madness,
> And his end without honour.[22]
> How was he numbered among sons of God?
> And how is his lot among saints? (5:4, 5)

Compare ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη, Isaiah 53:12, and with the ὁ κλῆρος, the LXX translation, αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλούς, of Isaiah 53:12. There is a very suggestive parallelism here to the change of the view of his contemporaries toward the Servant in Isaiah 53:1 ff.

We see yet more clearly the delineation of Israel as the Servant-son in 16:20-26. According to Wisdom, Israel was given "bread from heaven" in the wilderness in order "that thy sons, whom thou lovedst (οἱ υἱοί σου οὓς ἠγάπησας), O Lord, might learn that it is not the growth of the earth's fruits that nourisheth a man, but that thy word nourisheth them that trust thee." Note the close affinity to the first and third temptations of Jesus (Matthew 4:1-11). Compare Hosea 11:1 for the idea of Israel as God's son.

[22] ἄτιμον, cf. Τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, Isa. 53:3.

No wonder that some of the Fathers (as Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and others) regarded parts of Wisdom 2: 10-21 as a distinct prophecy of Christ. Augustine says: "In one of these books, known as the Wisdom of Solomon, the Passion of Christ is most definitely prophesied. His wicked murderers are even represented as saying, 'Let us lie in wait' " (*de Civ. Dei* 17, 20 1). And the remarkable resemblances to the charges brought against Jesus have led some to treat some of this as a Christian interpolation, and others to argue that the whole book was the work of a Christian. The Canon of Muratori (185 A.D.) even places the Wisdom of Solomon in the New Testament Canon, mentioning it as being "received among Catholics": "Also the Book of Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in his honour." But the most direct reference in Wisdom seems to be to Israel as the Servant-son (or the faithful among the Jews), but there will be a likeness between the charges levelled in all ages against the true "servants" of God by men of evil life, and, as we shall see more and more as our study proceeds, the full realization in history of the ideal suffering Servant is found only in Jesus of Nazareth. And we shall see that these passages in Wisdom influenced both the thought and the phraseology of the gospel writers, and especially the Second Source (Q).

In these passages in the first part of Wisdom a solution of the problem of undeserved suffering is offered in the theory that suffering is meant to test the righteous and prove them worthy of immortality and communion with God. A much more complete

solution of the difficulty is to be found in the deeper thought of Isaiah 53. Although the idea that the death of the righteous may be regarded as a sacrificial offering once crosses the writer's mind (3:6), there is "not the slightest allusion made to the atoning power of the sufferings and death of the righteous one" (Grimm). This difference would seem to indicate that Wisdom was not the composition of a Christian. It is, however, certain that in several places the writer had in view the prophecy of Isaiah 52:13-53:12.

Ecclesiasticus. In the other books of the Apocrypha very few distinct allusions can be traced to the Servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah. Two influences are to be reckoned with here. (1) The question as to whether the distinctively Messianic hope disappeared or not with the cessation of prophecy, to be revived only with the advent of Christianity. V. H. Stanton is undoubtedly correct when he maintains that the Messianic hope did not disappear, but the expectation of a personal Messiah "went greatly down after the Prophets were silent."[23] (2) The other influence was the repugnance to the Jews of the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah. But we shall see a few reminiscences of the suffering Servant in the later Jewish writings.

The mention of the restoration of the tribes of Jacob (but the Hebrew has "Israel") in Ecclesiasticus 48:10 is a distinct reference to the Messianic Hope, as this "restoration" was regarded as an indispensa-

[23] "Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period," *Hastings' D. B.*, Extra Vol.

ble element of the Messianic Age; but here it is Elijah who is "to restore the tribes of Jacob," a part of the task of the Servant in Isaiah 49:6. Thus Ben-Sira had in mind not only the "warnings" of Malachi, but also the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah concerning the "Servant of Yahweh." The Messiah as a great object of expectation had faded from the hearts of the Jewish writers of the post-Maccabean period. The prophecies concerning the "Servant of Yahweh," his sufferings and victory, were interpreted of the sufferings of the righteous, and their ultimate reward.

Psalms of Solomon. In the 17th Psalm of Solomon not a syllable is written about a suffering Messiah; but instead he is to be "their king, the son of David," and he is to "reign over Israel thy servant" (17:23 ff.). There are references, however, to Isaiah 42 and 49. An echo of the cheering promise that "he will not fail nor be discouraged" (42:4), is found here, and is explained of the Messiah, just as in the Targum. Twice in the Psalm it is declared that "he will be strong and stumble not" (Gr. "will be in strength and will not be weak," vv. 42, 43). Nor will the "shepherding" Messiah permit his people ("the flock") "to stumble (be weak) in their pasture" (v. 45; cf. Zechariah 12:8). But there is no indication that the author, or the Jewish writers of his day, even thought of the Messiah as atoning by his sufferings for the sins of his people, or that he regarded the sufferings so forcibly described in Isaiah 53 to be applicable to "the Lord's anointed." It is possible that a reminiscence of Isaiah 53 may be

detected in the language of Psalms of Solomon 8:28, but it is doubtful (rather cf. Ezekiel 34).

3. In the Talmud and the Rabbinical Literature. In Judaism beyond the Old Testament both the national and the personal interpretations of the Servant seem to have been current. But in later times, influenced perhaps by their controversy with Christian theologians, the Jews largely abandoned the personal interpretation. And, indeed, in the cruel persecutions which Christians inflicted upon them throughout the Middle Ages they were supplied with only too many reasons for insisting that Isaiah 53 was prophetic of the martyr-people Israel as a whole. We must also bear in mind that, although in the second century after Christ the idea of a suffering Messiah, and indeed of a Messiah suffering as an atonement for human sin, was, at least in certain circles, a familiar one, yet it never became the prevailing view of Judaism.

The Targum, or so-called Chaldee Paraphrase, of Jonathan allows the reference of Isaiah 53 to the Messiah to remain on the whole, but denies the application to him of just those verses which treat of the sufferings of the Servant of God. The Targum begins: "Behold my servant Messiah shall prosper." The sufferings are ascribed to the kingdoms which the Messiah will cut off, or to Israel. For instance, "Then for our sins will he pray, and our iniquities will for his sake be forgiven, although *we* were accounted stricken, smitten before the Lord, and afflicted" (53:4). Again, "The mighty of the peoples he will deliver up like a sheep to the slaughter and

like a lamb dumb before her shearers" (53:7, referring to Gentiles). The Messiah is a ruling and conquering Messiah, with much of the language referring to suffering transferred to the Gentiles.[24]

The Talmud of Babylon has the following: "The Messiah—what is his name? . . . The Rabbis say, The leprous one [; those] of the house of Rabbi [say, The sick one], as it is said, 'Surely he hath borne our sicknesses,'" etc. Yalkut maintains that "My servant shall be high, and lifted up, and lofty exceedingly," refers to the Messiah.[25] According to the book of Siphré, Rabbi Joses the Galilean says: "How much more, then, will the King Messiah, who endures affliction and pains for the transgressors (as it is written, 'He was wounded,' etc.) justify all generations! and this is what is meant when it is said, 'And the Lord made the iniquity of us all meet upon him!'"[26] This last passage shows that in the second century after Christ, Isaiah 53:4 ff. was in many circles explained of the Messiah; for Rabbi Joses the Galilean was a contemporary of Rabbi Akiba, and therefore lived in the first half of the second century after Christ. This is confirmed by the saying of Trypho, in Justin's "Dialogue with Trypho," chap. 90: Παθεῖν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὡς πρόβατον ἀχθήσεσθαι οἴδαμεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, etc. (cf. also chaps. 36, 89). Thus the Jewish opponent of Justin admitted that Isaiah 53:7 is to be referred to the Messiah. And yet we see that the Messianic character of Isaiah

[24] See Driver and Neubauer, *The 53rd Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, pp. 5, 6.
[25] Driver and Neubauer, p. 9.
[26] Driver and Neubauer, p. 11.

42: 1-4 and 49: 1-6 was called in question by the Jews (cf. chaps. 122, 123). Although Trypho, when overcome in argument, confesses the Messianic character of Isaiah 53, yet this probably represented merely the views held in the circles of his Palestinian colleagues, and not the views of Judaism to any very wide extent. R. Abraham Ibn Ezra says: "The proof of its proper meaning lies in the passages immediately before (52: 12, where 'you' signifies Israel), and immediately afterwards (54: 1, where 'the barren one' designates the congregation of Israel); similarly *my servant* means each individual belonging to Israel, and consequently God's servant, who is in exile."[27] R. Sa 'Adyah Ibn Danân interprets Isaiah 52: 13-53: 12 as referring to King Hezekiah.[28] Herbert Loewe says that both of the above commentators "reflect traditional exegesis; their views do not merely represent contemporary opinion."[29]

But Yepheth Ben 'Ali, who interprets this section as referring to the Messiah, opens his discussion by saying: "The Commentators differ concerning this section. The *Fayyumi* lost his senses in applying it to the prophets generally, or, according to some authorities, in supposing that it referred to Jeremiah in particular."[30] On the other hand, Don Yizhaq Abarbanel, who himself takes this section in a national sense, admits, after giving the Christian interpretation, that "Yonathan ben Uzziel interprets in

[27] Driver and Neubauer, p. 43.
[28] Driver and Neubauer, pp. 202-216.
[29] "Judaism," Hastings' *E. R. E.*, p. 583b.
[30] Driver and Neubauer, p. 19.

the Targum of the future Messiah; and this is also the opinion of our own learned men in the majority of their Midrashim."[31] And R. Mosheh El-Sheikh, of the sixteenth century, says: "I may remark, then, that our Rabbis with one voice accept and affirm the opinion that the prophet is speaking of the King Messiah, and we shall ourselves also adhere to the same view."[32]

But these quotations will suffice perhaps to show the divided opinion among Jewish interpreters. A close study of Driver and Neubauer reveals that the prevailing opinion was that the suffering Servant is to be referred to Israel the martyr-people, although among some the identification is with the Messiah. In fact, the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah was on the whole quite foreign to Judaism in general. This is abundantly proved by the conduct of both the disciples and opponents of Jesus (Matthew 16:22; Luke 18:34; John 12:34, etc.).[33]

A word is necessary in this connection as to the Rabbinical doctrine of the Messiah who suffers and dies for Israel, the Messiah son of Joseph or son of Ephraim, who in Jewish theology is distinguished from and subordinate to the victorious Son of David. This belief dates from the second century after Christ, and is possibly connected with the Bar Kochba war. In another tradition, probably older,

[31] Driver and Neubauer, p. 153.
[32] Driver and Neubauer, p. 258.
[33] See Schurer on "The Suffering Messiah," *Jewish People*, etc., Second Div., vol. ii, pp. 184-187. For a different view, see Cheyne, *Isaiah*, Essay V, "The Suffering Messiah" (Fifth Edition, 1895, pp. 217 ff.).

the true Messiah himself is to suffer and die (IV Ezra 8:28); but this is the conception of a human Messiah who is to die after a reign of 400 years (cf. the Samaritan *Taeb*). There is no evidence of the influence of Isaiah 53 in this representation.[34]

Thus the evidence seems to indicate that by the first century after Christ the Old Testament was not interpreted as pointing to a suffering Messiah. Indeed there is no evidence that Isaiah 53 was interpreted by the Jews in a Messianic sense until a later period, and, even when it is, the verses which speak of suffering are usually applied not to the Messiah but to the nation.[35]

Perhaps no more fitting close to this section on the Jewish interpretations could be made than to give a quotation from C. G. Montefiore, one of the finest representatives of modern Jewish scholarship: "The exact interpretation of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 is still uncertain; yet a large number of modern critics accept the view which many medieval Jewish commentators held, that the suffering Servant is the people of Israel who voluntarily underwent suffering, ignominy, and death, for the sake of the world's peace, the world's enlightenment."[36]

[34] See Buttenwieser, art. "Messiah," *Jewish Ency.*, on Messiah ben Joseph; and for the Samaritan *Taeb*, see Emmet, Hastings' *E. R. E.*, Art. "Messiah."

[35] See V. H. Stanton, Hastings' *D. B.*, art. "Messiah"; Driver and Neubauer, *Jewish Interpreters of Isa. 53;* Dalman, *Der leidende*, etc.; Schurer, *Jewish People*. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, pp. 27 ff., agrees, though he leaves open the bare possibility that the wide-spread myths of the dying and rising god may have influenced Jewish Messianic ideas.

[36] C. G. Montefiore, *The Old Testament and After*, London, 1923, pp. 89, 90.

II

APPLICATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. I

The matter of greatest interest and importance in our study is to determine the exact sense in which the Servant idea is used in the New Testament. The solution of this problem will come in a proper understanding of the idea which the early Christians and the New Testament writers held as to the meaning of the life, death, and person of Jesus. It will be necessary to study carefully the use made of the word παῖς, and the verses in the New Testament which make any reference to the Servant passages or to the Servant idea of suffering and death.

1. In the Teaching and Self-Consciousness of Jesus

1. At His Baptism. In the baptismal voice the Messianic application of Isaiah 42 ff. is taken up into the filial consciousness of Jesus as consecrated for the work of the Father among men. Mark 1:11 should be rendered: "Thou art my Son, the Beloved, he whom I elected." The D ("Western") text of Luke 3:22 has the voice from heaven in the form: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," quoting Psalm 2:7 as in Hebrews 5:5. Augustine says that this was the reading of some MSS (*e.g.* D and other important witnesses), "although it is *stated* not to be found in the more ancient MSS."[1] The

[1] *De Cons. Evang.* 2:14; cf. *Enchir. ad Laurent.* xlix.

connected Q story of the Temptation (Matthew 4:2-11, Luke 4:2-13) also implies a revelation to Jesus, "Thou art the Son of God"; so that the representation is older than Mark. It was manifestly based on Isaiah 42:1 in the form quoted in Matthew 12:18. Bousset suggests: "Could not the voice of God in a primitive report of the baptism have read: σὺ εἶ ὁ παῖς μου ὁ ἀγάπητος, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα? The correspondence to Isaiah 42:1 would then be perfect. (Cf. the translation varying from the LXX. in Mt. 12:18: . . .). The epithet ἀγαπητός μου, Mk. 1:11, as well as the other, ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος μου, Lk. 9:35, seems to point in this direction."[2] The voice at the Baptism blends the two ideas of the Son of God in the second Psalm and of the Servant of Yahweh in Isaiah 42.

What shall one say about the combination of two different sayings from the Old Testament? It may appear to some that there is nothing particularly notable, and perhaps something rather artificial in this. But rather the perception of a link between such sayings, the insight which penetrates to the unsuspected unity behind both, shows the highest religious genius. "Such combinations," says James Moffatt, "are not the cool and clever result of a scribe poring over the Old Testament texts. They witness to a depth of religious insight and experience which is creative. They interpret not texts but a life. The fact that Jesus recognized in his own character and career the union of the Isaianic Servant of Yahweh and the messianic royal son of the second Psalm is

[2] *Kyrios Christos*, p. 69, n. 2.

certainly very interesting and highly significant." Prophetic texts gave direction to and supplied means of expression for the religious meditations of Jesus as he stood at the beginning of his public ministry and faced the Messianic vocation. His gentle spirit delighted in words depicting the ideal servant of God as clothed with meekness, patience, wisdom, and love. No wonder that the influence of one of the Servant-passages is found here.

James Denney[3] insists that "the Messianic consciousness of Jesus from the very beginning was one with the consciousness of the Servant of the Lord,—a combination of Psalm 2 and Isaiah 42 in the voice at His baptism. . . . The key to the act is to be found in the great passage in Isaiah 53 in which the vocation of the Servant of the Lord, which, as we have seen, was present to our Lord's mind at the moment, is most amply unfolded. The deepest word in that chapter, 'He was numbered with the transgressors,' is expressly applied to our Lord by Himself at a later period (Luke 22: 37)."[4] In his *Jesus and the Gospels,* pp. 181-182, Denney uses language that is even stronger and more explicit: "It is impossible to suppose that this combination is accidental, and it is quite unnecessary to suppose that it is the work of the apostolic church looking back on the way in which Old Testament ideals were united in the life of Jesus. The ideals of the Old Testament were far more vivid to Jesus than they were to the apostolic church, and we fail to do justice to Jesus

[3] *The Theology of the Gospels,* p. 149.
[4] *The Death of Christ,* pp. 10, 11.

unless we recognize this. . . However such titles as Messiah (or Son of God as a synonym of Messiah) may take shape as the investigation goes on, *what we have to start from is the experience of an endowment with divine power, and of a heavenly calling to fulfil the grandest ideals of the Old Testament. This consciousness of divine power and of a unique vocation, it is no exaggeration to say, lies behind everything in the gospels.*" There is no doubt some foundation for such emphasis by Denney, although he does not deal in a thoroughly critical way with the sources.

It is more than likely that the underlying idea of the phrase, "for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Matthew 3:15), is the consecration of the righteous Son and Servant to God's interests in the midst of a "crooked and perverse generation."[5] Jesus was coming to a baptism of repentance, and yet he had no sins of which to repent. He was identifying himself with the sinful people. He was being "numbered with the transgressors" (cf. Luke 22:37). Light is thrown on this act here if we can say that there was present to Jesus' mind at the time the vocation of the Servant of the Lord as found in Isaiah 53, and that he applied the great idea to himself.[6]

2. In the Synagogue at Nazareth. When Jesus came to Nazareth he read Isaiah 61:1, 2 one Sabbath day, and declared that those words were fulfilled in him (Luke 4:17-22). The quotation is

[5] Cf. James Moffatt, *The Theology of the Gospels*, pp. 143-144.
[6] Cf. James Denney, *The Death of Christ*, p. 15.

taken freely from the LXX, possibly from memory, and with reminiscences, intentional or otherwise, of other passages (see also Isaiah 58:6). This passage is found in Luke alone, and belongs to his special source perhaps, but he may have drawn upon one of his more or less fragmentary sources, written or oral. Isaiah 61:1-3 is not regarded by most scholars as one of the Servant-passages. The prophet seems to be speaking of himself as the one sent by God to announce the approaching release of the captives from exile. But Jesus, interpreting the words in the largest spiritual sense, adopts them as expressing his own mission to free men from sin (so in Matthew 11:4, 5; Luke 7:22). The somewhat similar application in both Matthew and Luke presents strong evidence that Jesus made this application himself. At least the essence of the idea of the Servant is here present to the mind of Jesus. According to Luke, Jesus is no warrior-king (1:79), but the Servant of God bringing the blessings of spiritual light and liberty to the poor and afflicted. "To set at liberty them that are bruised" (Luke 4:18) is imported (by Luke probably) from Isaiah 58:6, the aim being to make the text in all respects a program for the ministry of Jesus. At any rate, the ministry of Jesus was like this, just as it was the embodiment of the great idea of the suffering Servant. It is the larger conception of Christ's person and mission as the fulfilment of older prophecy, and as the inauguration of a new religious era, which is most prominent in this passage in Luke, and this conception

dominates the theology of the gospels and is derived ultimately from the consciousness of Jesus himself.

3. His Last Words to John the Baptist. There is a passage from the Second Source which greatly strengthens this view of the self-consciousness of Jesus in regard to his mission. When John the Baptist sent from prison by his disciples, asking, "Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?" Jesus appealed to his works and quoted the great prophet of the Exile (Matthew 11:4-6; Luke 7:21-23; cf. Isaiah 35:5-6, 61:1). This answer of Jesus is evasive as regards his messiahship, but it shows very clearly that he regards his work as corresponding to that of the Isaian Servant, who brings healing, comfort, and "glad tidings to the poor." The disciples of John were not to tell their master anything new, but only what they had told him before. The one new element is that the facts are stated in terms fitted to recall prophetic oracles (Isaiah 35:5, 61:1), while, in part, a historical recital of recent miracles (Matthew 8 and 9). Let John study the prophetic text and the historic facts together, and then let him draw his own conclusion. According to the Fourth gospel John had pointed out Jesus in the beginning as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (John 1:29, 36). The Greek term for "beareth" (αἴρων) differs from that used by Matthew (8:16, 17) to translate Isaiah 53:4, but it means practically the same thing. The Baptist here applies to Jesus the idea of the Servant, although critical considerations weaken the evidence of these words as the actual words of John. And yet a critic

like Strauss admits that "a penetrating mind like that of the Baptist might, even before the death of Jesus, gather from the Old Testament phrases and types the notion of a suffering Messiah, and that his obscure hints on the subject might not be comprehended by his disciples and contemporaries." The solution is probably to be found in the intercourse of John with Jesus, and especially after Jesus' return from the Temptation. These men must have talked long and earnestly on the work of the Messiah; and even though after his imprisonment John seems to have had other thoughts about the Messiah, that is not inconsistent with his making this statement under the direct influence of Jesus.[7]

4. Predictions of His Death. There are only two sayings—and these are obscure—spoken by Jesus before the crisis at Caesarea-Philippi which allude to his death, and one of these has no hint whatever as to the meaning of that event. The first of these sayings speaks of the bridegroom being taken away from them (Mark 2:20; Matthew 9:15; Luke 5:35); but we cannot be sure that these are the actual words of Jesus. Professor B. W. Bacon ascribes Mark 2:20 to the Redactor: "Instead of the fundamental contrast of Q (Matthew 11:17-19, Luke 7:32-34; cf. Matthew 6:16-18) between the use of fasting as an *opus operatum,* and fasting as a forth-putting of the soul toward God, R introduces a contrast of time."[8] If these words can be ascribed to Jesus, he here for the first time implies

[7] Cf. Marcus Dods, *Exp. Greek Testament, ad loc.*
[8] *Beginnings of Gospel Story,* p. 29.

that his death will be a violent one, for he does not say simply "go away" or "depart" (John 16:7), but "shall be taken away." The other saying is in regard to the sign of Jonah (Matthew 12:38-41; Luke 11:29-32). It is probable that Luke gives us the true reading here, and that Matthew (or the writer of his source) has simply paraphrased the saying as recorded by Luke, in order to explain the parallelism between Jonah as a sign and the Son of man as a sign.[9]

This period which, in the synoptic narrative, furnishes but two allusions by Jesus to his death, included about three-fourths of his public ministry. But from the day of the first formal announcement of his death at Caesarea-Philippi onward to the close of Jesus' life, we find references to his death comparatively frequent and perfectly explicit. All the Synoptists record three announcements by Jesus in very similar language, two of them near together and at the beginning of the last six or seven months (Mark 8:31-9:1; Matthew 16:21-28; Luke 9:22-27, and Mark 9:30-32; Matthew 17:22, 23; Luke 9:43b-45), and the other near the close of this period (Mark 10:32-34; Matthew 20:17-19; Luke 18:31-34). While the predictions are similar, it is to be noticed that the last one is made more dreadful than the first two by the additions of some details of suffering, that is, Jesus speaks for the first time of mocking, spitting, scourging and, according to Matthew, of crucifixion, as a part of his

[9] Cf. W. C. Allen, "S. Matthew," *Crit. and Exegetical Comm., ad loc.*

approaching trial and death. "Besides these formal announcements which are given by all the Synoptists there are no less than fourteen other references, more or less explicit. Of these, ten seem to belong to the last week, three are associated with the transfiguration and thus follow closely upon the formal announcement at Caesarea-Philippi, and one belongs in the Perean Ministry."[10]

From this time onward Jesus certainly thought of himself as a suffering Messiah. In fact, it seems decidedly probable that Jesus, who everywhere reveals a profound spiritual acquaintance with the Old Testament and an unparalleled insight into the character of men, had from the beginning of his ministry seen that his way would be one of suffering. And surely it seems most reasonable to believe that as the skies darkened for him, one with his spiritual insight, one who called upon his followers to "take up the cross," one who found himself foreshadowed in Isaiah 42 and other Servant-passages, would not fail to apply to himself Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22. The transfiguration was to suggest to the disciples that, both in the Law and the Prophets, the death of the Messiah was foreshadowed (cf. Luke 9:30, 31), and consequently that their view, which was also the view of the Jews in general, that the Messiah should come in glory and abide forever, was incorrect.[11] It is plain that Jesus at this time read his death in the Old Testament, or, if not his death, as in Matthew 17:12, at least his suffering of many things

[10] G. H. Gilbert, *The Revelation of Jesus*, pp. 246 ff.
[11] Cf. The rebuke of Peter, Mark 8:32 ff.; Matt. 16:22 ff.

and being set at naught (Mark 9: 12); and the great passage which formed the basis of the idea of the suffering Messiah was Isaiah 53. Jesus combines with the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, the Son of man of Daniel; for the favorite title used in connection with the idea of his suffering and death is that of "the Son of man."

Up to the time of Jesus the Jews did not expect their Messiah to die, and they saw no such idea in their Scriptures. For them as for Peter (Mark 8: 32 f.) that would have been almost a contradiction in terms. It was only in the Talmudic times that the idea was tolerated and even then the Messiah's death was looked on as a dark and mysterious fate which he shared with his people. But with Jesus a new and truer conception came to light. In a real sense the Old Testament Scriptures must be read in the light of his life and mission. And thus the *experience* did become a commentary on the Old Testament text of a suffering Messiah, and as the opposition to him deepened, it may have served to make the word of Scripture plainer and more sure.

5. *At the Transfiguration.* In the proclamation of Jesus' messianic calling by the divine voice at the time of the Transfiguration (Mark 9: 7; Matthew 17: 5; Luke 9: 35) we see Jesus presented as the suffering Servant of Yahweh of Deutero-Isaiah, as in Acts 3: 13, 26, 4: 27, 30. And the proclamation at this stage of his life seems more in keeping with the context than earlier at the Baptism. The basic passage is Isaiah 42: 1-4 in the form quoted in Matthew 12: 18-21. The change, however, of παῖς

("son," "servant") obliterates one of the chief elements in the appropriateness of the quotation. Mark's version of the voice is, "This is my Son, the Beloved"; Luke has "the Elect"; Matthew, "he whom I chose" (cf. Isaiah 42:1; Psalm 2:7). At this period in his career Jesus seems to think of himself as fulfilling the great idea of the suffering Servant, and part of his task from now on is to lead his disciples to understand the great idea. They are dull and slow of heart. The current conception of a ruling and victorious Messiah was the great stumbling-block.

6. The Ransom-Passage. The next great passage of capital importance for us is Mark 10:45; Matthew 20:28, the ransom-passage: "For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for [Gr., "instead of"] many." Jesus had just foretold for the third time his death and resurrection, and had rebuked the selfish ambition of James and John. The Son of man came that he might give the energies of his whole life that he might deliver men from the bondage and consequences of their sins; and in this he was fulfilling a universal human duty, for he demanded the same of his disciples. His death is the consummate expression of his life. The passage is thus, despite the great difference in setting and terminology, at one with Isaiah 53, in teaching the great principle of vicarious suffering. Paul attests the currency from the earliest period in the church of the doctrine that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (I Corinthians 15:3). The

reference is undoubtedly to the doctrine of the vicarious suffering of the Servant in Isaiah 53:4-6, 8, 10-12 (cf. I Peter 2:21-24) and a series of dependent Jewish writings, the best example of which is IV Maccabees. In IV Maccabees the doctrine of the vicarious suffering of the righteous is carried to the point of actual substitution of innocent for guilty. For instance, in 6:28 f., 17:32: "Be merciful to the people and be content with our punishment on their behalf. Make my blood a purification for them and take my life as a ransom for their life."[12] Mark's language here ("instead of many"), as well as in 14:24, gives strong support to the doctrine of substitution. Although Jesus uses the term "Son of man," he is thinking of the prophetic Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, as in the previous passages which predict his sufferings and death. The term "ransom" itself may have been derived from the second Isaiah (see 43:3, 4).

The words of the ransom-passage belong to Q, and it seems to me that they are undoubtedly the words of Jesus. The sequence and connection of ideas throughout this passage make this matter very convincing. The words seem to be perfectly in place. "They are in line with everything that precedes. They are words in the only key, of the only fulness, which answers to our Lord's absorption at the time in the thought of his death."[13] It should be noted, however, that it is in application to Moses as he who

[12] C. W. Emmet, *The Fourth Book of Maccabees*, Macmillan, 1918.

[13] James Denney, *The Death of Christ*, p. 28.

offered his life "the one for the many" (Exodus 32:32 ff.) that the Talmudic writers employ the phrase. Moses is in fact regarded as the *'Ebed Yahweh*. The use of "the one for the many" in this contemporary teaching is closer to Mark 10:45, 14:24 than Isaiah 53:11.

7. His Words at the Last Supper. A passage of great importance for us is Mark 14:24 = Matthew 26:28 = Luke 22:20. The rite instituted by Jesus on "the night in which he was betrayed" is attested along with the words themselves by the teaching of Paul (I Corinthians 11:23-25) as "from the Lord." "Every other word of the New Testament might be undermined or discarded, but this would remain unshaken as long as one believer remained to do this in remembrance of him, and to tell the story of the Lord's death till he come" (B. W. Bacon). The interpretative words alluding to "the blood of the covenant" of Exodus 24:6-8 may be due to ritual addition, as well as the clause, "which is shed for many," a reference to Isaiah 53 (cf. Mark 10:45); but there is no justification for questioning the command, "This do in remembrance of me," nor the comparison, "This is my body," "This is my blood." The occurrence of the term "for many" seems to be a reminiscence of Isaiah 53:11. Luke has, "which is poured out for you"; and Matthew, "which is shed for many unto remission of sins."

The use of the word "poured out" or "shed" (ἐκχυννόμενον) suggests either the violent character of Jesus' death, or an association of it with the sin-offering; and the expression "on behalf of many"

indicates that the suffering and death of Jesus were vicarious and endured to accomplish something for men. He dies not that his death may furnish the physical blood for a covenant ceremony, but that he may bring about in very fact that which was symbolically accomplished when Moses in the wilderness sealed with the blood of animals the covenant between Jehovah and the people. This is essentially the idea of Isaiah 53. We cannot be sure that the expression "for many" is a conscious borrowing on Jesus' part from Deutero-Isaiah, but it does seem convincing that the inner meaning of this rite shows indebtedness to Isaiah 53. Just before the institution of the Supper Jesus had said in speaking of his betrayal, "For the Son of man goeth, even as it is written of him" (Mark 14:21 = Matthew 26:24) —meaning that the Son of man was to fulfil the mysterious prophecy of the Servant of Yahweh who had to disappear from the earth by a death of violence, only to return in triumph for the accomplishment of God's saving purpose. Jesus freely yields himself to this divine plan for the world, and does it in the spirit of the great Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.

8. "Reckoned with Transgressors." Just before the institution of the Supper Jesus said to his disciples: "For I say unto you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors: for that which concerneth me hath fulfilment" (Luke 22:37). Jesus here applies to himself the words of Isaiah 53:12: "and was numbered with the transgressors." This quotation

is given only in Luke, for Mark 15:28, which gives it in connection with the crucifixion of the robbers, is omitted from the Revised Version. But in the margin we read: "Many ancient authorities insert ver. 28, *And the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was reckoned with transgressors.*" A. Plummer says (in the *Cambridge Bible*): "The verse is an interpolation based on Luke 22:37 and Isaiah 53:12. It is not Mark's habit to point out the fulfilment of Scripture." But this interpolation furnishes very convincing proof as to the method of using Isaiah 53 by the early Christians. They made application of Isaiah 53 to Jesus, and there is some evidence to support the view that in doing this they went back to Jesus' own usage.

These words quoted from Isaiah 53:12 mean that Jesus is about to die the death of a criminal. It is necessary (δεῖ) "in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled." No other or higher view than this of the rationale of Christ's sufferings is found in Luke's Gospel (cf. 24:25, 26). Although Luke is a Paulinist in his universalism, he shows no acquaintance with Paul's theology of the atonement, unless it be in 22:20. But this prophetic word was, as Jesus says, fulfilled in him. He was the realization of this whole prophetic picture of the misunderstood, rejected, suffering Servant of Yahweh. As he adopted the description of the prophet's mission in Isaiah 61:1, 2, as setting forth his own mission (see Luke 4:16-21), so he adopts this picture of a life of sacrifice for others as a faithful portraiture of his life. Luke was a careful and painstaking his-

torian (cf. 1 : 1-4), and it is not unreasonable to believe that he had good authority for thus representing Jesus. These last passages in Luke as they stand indicate that Jesus found in the Old Testament certain ideals of life and conduct which he felt it needful for him to follow and which involved for him a death at the hands of his opponents. And when the strong evidence of the ransom-saying and the words at the Last Supper are coupled with these others, one is convinced that Jesus could not have failed to apply to himself Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22 as he faced his death.

II. In the Earliest Christian Teaching—Acts

1. Evaluation of the Source or Sources. After the actual usage and teaching of Jesus himself, the next stage for our study is the earliest Christian teaching as found in the early chapters in Acts, especially in the Petrine speeches. We are dealing here with a stratum of Christian tradition which is almost certainly pre-Pauline. Practically all critics agree that these first chapters in Acts are based on a very primitive source, whatever be the date of the book as a whole. There is an increasing disposition to acknowledge that in these Petrine speeches in Acts we have the thought of the primitive community preserved and reproduced with great faithfulness. For instance, notice the significant admission of Schmiedel in his article on the Acts in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* i. 48: "A representation of Jesus so simple, and in such exact agreement with the impression left by the most genuine passages of

the first three gospels, is nowhere else to be found in the whole New Testament. It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source."

One must admit, however, that our knowledge of the events for the years 30 to 55 A. D. comes to us from documents of uncertain date or from those admittedly late. But a careful examination of the language and teachings of the earlier chapters of Acts makes it practically certain that the writer is dependent on materials, either oral or written, which represent the earliest thoughts of the Christian mind, and it is just here that we find a very interesting and instructive emphasis placed on the doctrine of the Servant. Jesus is the παῖς of Yahweh of Deutero-Isaiah. And, on the other hand, the fact that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ does not occur in these early documents is another sign of their primitive character. Harnack assigns the passages which contain the references to the Servant to the primitive Jerusalem-Caesarean source.

The author of the third gospel and Acts seems to be the same person, whether it is Luke or not. The address to Theophilus and the style of the two works would indicate the same author, besides other considerations. The idea of the Servant is prominent in Luke-Acts and in I Peter. This emphasis is due, it would seem, to Lukan-Petrine influence.

In Acts we have the following passages for study: 3 : 13, 18, 26; 4 : 27, 30; 8 : 32, 33; 10 : 36-38 (in the light of Luke 4 : 18 ff.); 13 : 27, 29, 47; 20 : 35, and 26 : 23. Of these, two (10 : 36-38 and 20 : 35) are

vague in their allusion to the Servant; two others (13:27, 29 and 3:18) refer to predictions in the prophets as to the death of Jesus. In 13:47, Isaiah 49:6 is referred to Paul and his companions. In 26:23 we have Paul's word in regard to prophetic predictions of the sufferings of Christ. This leaves only the following passages which definitely refer to, or are based on, Servant poems: 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30; 8:32, 33.

2 Jesus Called the Παῖς. In four passages Jesus is called the παῖς (3:13, 26, 4:27, 30). "The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Servant Jesus [τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν]; whom he delivered up, and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him" (3:13). "Unto you first God, having raised up his Servant [τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ], sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities" (3:26). These two verses occur in Peter's discourse delivered in connection with the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful door of the temple. But the other two verses in which παῖς occurs form part of the prayer of the Christian brotherhood in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Peter and John from prison. After quoting Psalm 2:1, 2, they say: "for of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus [τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν], whom thou didst anoint(ἔχρισας), both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass" (4:27, 28). And in v. 30

the prayer is concluded with the words: "and that signs and wonders may be done through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus" [τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ].

In the Authorized Version παῖδα is translated "Son" in the first two passages, and "child" in the last two. But according to the view now generally held it is the alternative meaning of παῖς which is intended here, that is, "Servant"; and we have in the phrase a deliberate echo of the language of Deutero-Isaiah concerning the "Servant of Yahweh." Such a usage is a further indication of the primitive character of Luke's material. In this connection Professor B. W. Bacon says: "In the Petrine speeches of Acts, as in the Pauline Epistles, it is not the Danielic Christology of the Son of man which dominates. This figure is absent from both. Of course the eschatological apocalyptic conception could not fail to be present and prominent in both; but the Christological figure which belongs to the Petrine speeches of Acts and the First Epistle of Peter *distinctively,* being traceable elsewhere only in a few primitive liturgical passages, such as the prayer of Clement of Rome, the liturgical prayers of the Didaché, the dying martyr's prayer in the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and the fragment of Apollinarius of Hierapolis on Christ as the passover victim, is the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant of Yahweh (ὁ παῖς Θεοῦ). It is significant that the only use made by Paul of this Isaian type of Christological doctrine is in the passage wherein he refers to the gospel teaching received by him from his predecessors in

the faith: 'I received . . . how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.' "[14]

3. The History and Usage of the Word Παῖς. The word παῖς is used from the time of Homer in various senses for child or servant; but it is found in the New Testament only in the Gospels and Acts. It may mean "a child," either a boy or girl. In the Septuagint it is the word for na'ar and na'arāh (Genesis 24:28; Deuteronomy 22:15, etc.). In this meaning we find ὁ παῖς in Matthew 17:18; Luke 2:43, 9:42; Acts 20:12; ἡ παῖς, Luke 8:51. Like the Latin *puer* it is used for "servant, slave" (Aeschylus, *Choephoroe,* 652; Xenophon, *Memorabilia,* 3, 13, 6; Plato, *Charmides,* p. 155a, etc.). Compare the similar use of German *Bursch,* French *garçon,* English *boy.* See Matthew 8:6, 8, 13; Luke 7:7, 12:45, 15:26. In Luke 7:7 the word for "servant" or "boy" is ὁ παῖς but in 7:10 it is τὸν δοῦλον, "bond-servant." This seems to indicate that παῖς and δοῦλος are used interchangeably.

Παῖς is used for "an attendant, servant"; specifically, a king's "attendant, minister" (see Matthew 14:2). Hence, we find in imitation of the Hebrew 'ebed yahû παῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ is used of a devout worshiper of God, one who fulfils God's will (Psalm 68 (69):18; Sapientia 2:13); thus, the people of Israel (Luke 1:54; Isaiah 41:8; 42:19, etc.); thus of David (Luke 1:69; Acts 4:25); likewise any

[14] B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God,* New Haven, 1911, p. 100. See further A. Harnack, *Date of Acts and Synoptic Gospels,* Eng. tr., 1911, p. 106; Harnack, *History of Dogma,* Eng. tr., 1894, i, 185, n. 4; Hastings' *Dict. of the Apostolic Church,* art. "Christ, Christology," by C. Anderson Scott.

upright and godly man whose agency God employs in executing his purposes; and Thayer says: "thus in the New Testament *Jesus the Messiah:* Matthew 12:18 (fr. Isaiah 42:1); Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30."

The word παῖς seems to be a milder expression than δοῦλος and its synonyms, emphasizing only subordination, whereas δοῦλος implies bondage and subjection. In Biblical Greek this is the prevailing use of the word in the LXX, for it occurs as often as δοῦλος as answering to the Hebrew 'e b e d. That the relation of the παῖς to the master is closer and the distance of the δοῦλος greater, is clear from II Samuel 13: 24: πορευθήτω δή ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου (cf. I Samuel 25:41), but this only seldom appears. In some books δοῦλος is prevailingly used (Samuel, Kings, Psalms), in others, παῖς (Genesis, Chronicles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel). Thus in particular the expression 'e b e d y a h û is rendered both by δοῦλος and by παῖς Κυρίου (cf. Joshua 1:1, 7, 13; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 22:2, 4, 5). In II Samuel 7:5 ff., I Kings 8:23 ff., we find accordingly δοῦλος Κυρίου; in I Chronicles 17:4 ff. δοῦλος Κυρίου and παῖς Κυρίου alternately. In the Psalms we have, with few exceptions, δοῦλος; in Isaiah, on the contrary, with few exceptions (48:20; 49:3, 5; 63:17 65:8), παῖς Κυρίου, 20:3; 22:20; 41:8, 9; 42:1; 43:10; 44:1, 2, 21, 26; 45:4; 49:6; 50:10; 52:13. In the Apocrypha, where παῖς often equals "servant," παῖς Θεοῦ, Κυρίου is less frequent than δοῦλος Θεοῦ, Κυρίου (cf. Wisdom 9:4, 5; 12:7, 20; 19:6;

Barnabas 1:20; 2:20, 24, 28; 3:36; I Esdras 6:27); but on the whole neither expression is frequent.

In the New Testament παῖς is used oftener in the sense of "servant" than in the sense of "child." It is used of Christ with reference to the Old Testament prophecy of the 'ebed yahû in Matthew 12:18 (from Isaiah 42:1); Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30. But in the other books, especially in the Pauline Epistles, δοῦλος is used for the special relation in which the Christian stands to the God of the New Covenant.[15]

4. The Stumbling of the Cross. One of the earliest and most important questions with which the followers of Jesus had to deal was, What is to be thought of the Founder? The earliest Christology was Messianic. Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish hope, but how explain his shameful death? These early Christians had to deal with "Christ crucified," but to the Jews it was a very serious "stumbling block" (I Corinthians 1:23). The explanation of the death of Jesus presented a real difficulty to the Christians themselves. They had not understood the references which Jesus made to his own death. Peter's "far be it from thee, Lord" had expressed the feelings of all the disciples. The Messiah was to conquer, to rule, and not to die. Schurer says: "It cannot be disputed that in the second century after Christ the idea of a suffering Messiah, and indeed of a Messiah suffering as an atonement for human

[15] See Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek*, p. 810; and Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 473.

sin, was, at least in certain circles, a familiar one, but on the whole it was quite foreign to Judaism in general." Jacob Jacobs in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (art. "Jesus"), declares that the very form of Jesus' punishment would disprove his claims in Jewish eyes. "No Messiah that Jews could recognize could suffer such a death; for, 'He that is hanged is accursed of God' (Deut. 21:23), 'an insult to God' (Targum, Rashi)." This problem was even more serious in the days of the apostles. These early Christians found the solution of their problem in Old Testament prophecy. Jesus' life of humiliation, ending in a slave's death, was but the fulfilment of prophecy. "But the things which God foreshowed by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled" (Acts 3:18). According to Luke's Gospel, Jesus himself during the Forty Days had led his disciples to see his sufferings and death foretold in all the Scriptures (Luke 24:25-27, 32, 44-46). It was the most natural thing in the world that early Jewish-Christian thought should recur to the suffering Servant of Isaiah, who was "wounded for our transgressions" (Isaiah 53:5). This primitive conception of the suffering Servant exalted persisted, and, as will be seen later, it served to explain the death of Jesus all down the years.

In "the Servant of Yahweh" of Deutero-Isaiah the primitive church found again the clearest picture of her Lord. "And certainly the original apostles could not have proclaimed Jesus more effectively as Messiah under any other Old Testament image and

name; a whole apologetic lay in this conception." They went beyond mere defense and took up the bold position that Jesus had accomplished his work as the Messiah precisely by his death. By the use of this term and these chapters they turn his rejection and suffering from a reproach into an argument in his favor. In this connection Professor B. W. Bacon makes the following comment (privately to the writer): "The primitive apologetic accounts for the attributing to Jesus of occasional sayings in the form of Isaiah 53. It does not account for its own appearance almost exclusively *after* the crucifixion, and always as something hitherto not known or understood."

The early church also found in the idea of the Servant a very suggestive and helpful picture of the earthly life of Jesus. If anyone argued that Jesus never displayed the outward kingly glory that was expected of the Messiah, here was the answer in authoritative Scripture—outer glory was completely disregarded, and among the very marks of God's chosen and beloved was the teaching that he would be despised of all, without form or beauty; "while on the other hand, all that made up for this apparent defect in the Servant of God, His patience and modesty, His gentle compassion, His self-sacrifice in the service of God, His character embodying the very ideal of religion, all of which is expressed in the name Servant of God, recalled most vividly to the memory of the people the picture of Jesus. The witness of His innocence and righteousness and sinlessness, which the apostles give with special empha-

sis, is most intimately connected with this proclamation of Jesus as the Servant of Jehovah (Acts 3: 14, 15; 4: 27, 30."[16]

But in these references to the death of Jesus there is no suggestion of its having been necessary to salvation, of its having been required as an atonement for the sin of the people, as a satisfaction to God. This explanation comes later in the theology of Paul. Here a sufficient reason for the death of Jesus is found in the statement that it took place in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. This is the explanation given by Peter in Acts 3: 18, where no attempt is made to explain why the suffering was necessary. It is enough to know that it was foretold in the sacred book in which the Divine will for man is revealed (cf. Luke 24: 25 ff.).

5. *"The Holy and Righteous One."* There is another set of titles used of Jesus in the early chapters of Acts which are closely associated with the "Servant," and partly based on the Ebed-Yahweh Songs. Jesus is called "the Holy and Righteous One" (3: 14). Not only is the sinlessness of his human character emphasized, but also associated with the language of prophecy. One of the words, ὁ ἅγιος, is taken directly from Psalm 16: 10 (cf. Acts 2: 27). Peter speaks of Jesus as God's "Holy One" (2: 27), and if the word used here means rather one consecrated to God's service, it is the thought involved in the παῖς Θεοῦ (ἅγιος, *e. g.* ἔκλεκτος Θεοῦ; see Grimm, *sub.* verse, and Isaiah 42: 1 LXX). In John's Gospel, 6: 69, it is the title

[16] See Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, i. 310, 311.

given to Jesus by Peter in his great confession, and in John 17:19 Jesus speaks of his martyr fate as a "sanctifying" of himself.

In ὁ δίκαιος the reference to the language of prophecy is unmistakable. The suffering Servant of Jehovah was also the righteous Servant, Isaiah 53:11 (cf. 11:5; Jeremiah 23:5; Acts 7:52; 22:14). This title is used in both of the writings ascribed to the two apostles who now appeal to it, I Peter 3:18 and I John 2:1. It seems not only that it was a favorite designation for Jesus among these early believers, but that it affords in itself a marvelous proof of the impression made by the human life of Jesus upon those who knew him best, or who at all events, like Stephen, had ample opportunities of learning the details of that life of holiness and righteousness. It is a life of self-dedication (John 17:19).

6. Philip and the Eunuch. There is one other passage in Acts which claims our special attention, the incident of Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts 8:30-35. When Philip joined himself to the eunuch he found him reading Isaiah 53:7, 8 LXX, "and beginning from this Scripture, preached unto him Jesus." The account of the conversion is probably based on a very reliable source. Harnack lays great stress on the authority or traditions of men like Philip. He is supported here by some recent critics like Lake and Jacquier.[17] Moffatt says that the second part of the Acts of Philip, 8:26-40, "is much more of a unity; probably it was derived from the

[17] *Revue Biblique Internationale*, Paris, 1915, pp. 134 f.

Caesarean cycle of traditions upon the primitive church."[18]

Philip found the eunuch reading Isaiah 53. The verses quoted here are 7 and 8, and are given word for word from the Septuagint. Verse 8 is mistranslated throughout in the LXX; yet the general sense of the passage is conveyed by this version, which has given hardly a sentence with precision.

"Understandest thou what thou readest?" was a natural and a very important question. The man was doubtless recognized by Philip as a Gentile, and the passage which Philip heard him reading, which for him, at least, was Messianic, had not usually been given a Messianic interpretation by the Jews. But here, as elsewhere in the New Testament, the Servant of Yahweh is regarded as identical with the Messiah. More accurately stated, the conception of the prophet is realized in Jesus. From what follows it is evident that Philip not only preached the glad tidings of the fulfilment of the prophecies in Jesus as the ideal and divine Sufferer, but had also spoken of the individual's relation to his kingdom, and among other things of baptism.[19]

The study of these passages in Acts has shown that the early disciples saw in Jesus the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. This was in the days of a very simple Christology. They did not make clear the relationship of Christ to God. They had not yet thought out that problem. The metaphysical ques-

[18] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 293.

[19] See C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, 1884, p. 116.

tions in regard to the Person of Christ had not arisen. The immediate need was a satisfactory apologetic in regard to the death of Jesus the Messiah. The conception of the Servant met their needs admirably.

III. In the Pauline Writings

1. What Paul Received from the Early Christians. It is impossible to determine what conception of the Messiah Paul held as a Pharisee. It may be that the apocalyptic idea appealed to him in his pre-Christian days, but the fact that in Romans 1 : 3 he emphasizes the Davidic descent of Jesus makes it more likely that he shared the prevalent idea of a prince of the royal house. In any case, his Messianic conceptions, like all the rest, were revolutionized. In Jesus, the crucified and risen, God's high purpose for his people is consummated. This certainly meant for Paul a remolding of the Messianic hope, for a crucified Messiah was for him in his pre-Christian days a contradiction in terms. What influences from early Christian thought helped Paul to a satisfactory understanding of the death of Jesus? We have seen how these early Christians turned to the Old Testament for explanation and defense in regard to the sufferings and death of their Messiah. From the very first they must have been impressed by the figure of the Servant of Yahweh, and especially by the marvelous delineation in Isaiah 53. In Acts 8 : 30-35 the foreshadowing in him of Jesus is definitely recognized. Soon, no doubt, it dawned upon them that many of the Master's words and thoughts

(*e. g.* Mark 10:45 paralleling Isaiah 53:10 *mg.*; Mark 14:24, cf. Isaiah 49:8) circled around this mysterious redeeming personality.[20] We have convincing proof of this origin and development in Paul's own undoubted words: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received: that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures" (I Corinthians 15:3). This was part of the common gospel which Paul received when he became a Christian.

Yet the title παῖς Θεοῦ is not found in the Pauline Epistles. In fact he nowhere makes any direct appeal on his own account to the Isaian passage which he refers to as fundamental to the common gospel, but we only trace its effect upon his thinking indirectly in passages dealing with the sinlessness, meekness and humility, and the death of Christ.[21] And yet we can be very sure that the idea was very influential in Paul's thinking. He applies two quotations from Isaiah (52:13; 53:12) to Christ, at least indirectly:

[20] The following comment by H. A. A. Kennedy is interesting and suggestive: "Then the redemption idea, so central in the prophetic picture, and finding expression there in terms so significant as 'wounded for our transgressions,' 'bruised for our iniquities,' 'making an offering for sin,' 'bearing the sin of many,' would link itself on to the great sacrificial system of Jewish ritual. The whole range of propitiatory sacrifices would receive a new importance as pointing to 'a sacrifice of nobler name and richer blood than they.' This process of theological reflection must have been at work when Paul became a Christian. It presented a basis on which his eager mind could build, and when he received the tradition of Jesus' solemn words at the Supper concerning the 'new covenant' in his blood, he would recognize that Jesus' thoughts had also been moving among the symbols of the Old Testament religion."—"The Pauline Theology," in Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, p. 809.

[21] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, p. 108.

"Yea, making it my aim so to preach the gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation; but, as it is written, They shall see, to whom no tidings of him came, And they who have not heard shall understand" (Romans 15:20, 21). And: "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin [Hebrew: Isaiah 53:10, 'asam] on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (II Corinthians 5:21). And we are quite sure that when he so often disputed that the "Messiah must suffer," and when he wrote "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures," he had Isaiah 53 in mind.

2. The Passages Based on Deutero-Isaiah. Careful attention must be given to all those passages in Paul's writings and teachings which seem to be influenced or colored by the doctrine of the Servant. We shall find more evidence of this influence than would be surmised perhaps by the average student of Paul. In the light of the facts, a broad general statement like the following needs to be explained or modified: "In the Epistles the death of Christ brings salvation, but nowhere is Jesus identified with the suffering Servant."[22]

A primary passage here, as we have seen already, is I Corinthians 15:3, 4. It was Paul's custom to teach as a fundamental of the gospel that which he also had "received" (παρέλαβον, word for learning), "that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." The "also" emphasizes the fact that he was

[22] Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, i, 392.

in this matter a learner, not an inventor. "Here follows a piece of primitive Christian *tradition* going back to the death of Christ, as if S. Paul were reciting a connected fragment of catechism" (Weiss). Compare Acts 13:26 ff., where the main points enumerated here are to be found. That the death of Christ was "according to the Scriptures" was one of the first lessons, as it was one of the hardest, learned by the disciples after the resurrection (cf. Luke 24:25 f.; Acts 3:18). It was the greatest difficulty in the way of Jewish converts. Isaiah 53 was the main "Scripture proof" (cf. Romans 4:25; 10:16), as it was the basis for the doctrine here referred to by Paul.

We see the influence of the Servant doctrine in Paul's statement: "But we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumblingblock, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God" (I Corinthians 1:23, 24). We have here not a warrior Messiah, not a kingly ruler and conqueror, breaking the heathen yoke, but a Messiah dying in impotence and shame, a suffering Servant indeed. Study in this connection Galatians 2:20: "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself up for me." The phraseology, παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, is borrowed from Isaiah 53:6, 12 (καὶ Κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, and παρεδόθη twice in v. 12). Paul

is evidently thinking of Jesus in the character of the suffering Servant of Isaiah. So we see the same idea presented, with the same basis, in Ephesians 5:2; "even as Christ also loved you, and παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν."

"The context of 2 Cor. 5:21, especially when compared with other Pauline references to the atonement, such as Romans 4:25; 5:1, 9, 19, and more particularly still when compared with 1 Peter 2:22-24, shows that Paul is simply applying to Jesus the attributes of the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53:9, who (to adopt the rendering of 1 Peter 2:22) 'did no sin,[23] neither was guile found in his mouth.' "[24] Paul must mean here that God caused Jesus to experience the effect of sin; not his own for he had none, but that of others. The penalties of sin were laid on Christ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, "on our behalf," and thus as the Representative of the sin of humanity it becomes possible to predicate of him the strange expression ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν (see Isaiah 53:6 Hebrew). The nearest parallel in the New Testament is γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα (Galatians 3:13; cf. Isaiah 53:6; Romans 8:3; I Peter 2:24; Isaiah 53:9).

The great passage dealing with the atonement, Romans 4:25-5:11, should be studied in this connection. The clause, "who was delivered up (παρεδόθη) for our trespasses," seems to have been suggested by Isaiah 53:12 LXX, "his soul was de-

[23] The LXX renders the Hebrew word for sin by ἀνομία. II Corinthians 5:21 and I Peter 2:22 agree in rendering ἁμαρτία.
[24] B. W. Bacon, *Christianity Old and New*, p. 128.

livered up (παρεδόθη) to death" (Hebrew, "he poured out his soul"), and v. 6 LXX, "the Lord delivered him up (παρέδωκεν αὐτόν) for our sins" (Hebrew, "Yahweh laid on him the iniquity of us all"). Compare, "delivered him up for us all," Romans 8:32. In the fifth chapter of Romans we can trace the influence of the Servant-doctrine at several points. For instance, v. 1, δικαιωθέντες, "be justified, (cf. Isaiah 53:11, δικαιῶσαι); also v. 9, "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him"; and in v. 19, not only οἱ πολλοὶ (cf. Isaiah 53:11, πολλοῖς, and v. 12, πολλῶν), but the whole idea of the "one" for the "many" shows a reminiscence of the suffering Servant. Indeed the expression in Romans 5:6, "while we were yet weak" (ἀσθενῶν, "sick"), is difficult to explain apart from Isaiah 53:4 (Hebrew "sicknesses").

In Isaiah 50:8, 9, we read: "He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? . . . Behold, the Lord Jehovah will help me; who is he that shall condemn me?" Romans 8:33, 34: "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth?" Here Paul merely adopts the language of Isaiah with special reference to justification by faith through Jesus.

In Romans 10:16 Paul makes use, in a loose way somewhat similarly, of Isaiah 53:1: "But they did not all hearken to the glad tidings. For Isaiah saith, Lord, who hath believed our report?" (cf. John 12:38). C. H. Toy makes the following instructive

comment on this use of Isaiah 53:1 by the New Testament writers: "Isaiah speaks of the incredulity of foreign nations and of ungodly Israelites towards the account given by the prophets of the true character, function, and future of the righteous Israel, the 'servant of Yahwe'; John quotes the declaration as fulfilled in the Jews' unbelief towards Jesus (the true 'servant of the Lord'); and Paul, similarly, of the failure of the Jews of his time to accept the gospel. In John, the 'our report' is referred to the preaching of Jesus; in Romans, to that of the apostles. In both cases, there is a close historical parallelism and spiritual fulfilment, but not a literal historical prediction. Isaiah 'saw his glory' (Jno. 12:41) in a form of a vision of a perfect servant of God, suffering, teaching, and saving; but the Old Testament does not lead us to suppose that the prophet had before him any definite, historical shape of an individual man to appear in the far future."[25]

Moreover, in Romans 15:21, Paul makes use of Isaiah 52:15 by a somewhat similar method. The quotation by Paul is after the LXX, which paraphrases the Hebrew. The passage in Isaiah describes the fame which the Servant of Yahweh, the righteous Israel, should attain—that is, the extension of the knowledge of Israel's God among the nations; and Paul cites it (in the Messianic sense) as the ground or justification of his plan of preaching the gospel in places where it had not been heard.

In the great passage on Christ's humiliation, self-emptying, and exaltation, Philippians 2:1-11, the title

[25] C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, pp. 88, 89.

παῖς Θεοῦ is not used of Christ, nor is there a direct quotation from the Servant-passages; but who can doubt that the basis for Paul's delineation here is the suffering Servant? The word παῖς is not even used in 2:7; nevertheless the word δοῦλος, "slave," which is used, corresponds to the Septuagint rendering of Isaiah 53:11, "doing good service as a slave for many" (εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς). The support for our view is not dependent on particular words or phrases which might be shown to be identical to similar expressions in Deutero-Isaiah, but the whole picture here in its totality is very convincing. Paul is not giving primarily a theological discussion on the Person of Christ; he is interested in the practical question of how Christians should imitate Christ in his love and humility. He enforces his appeal by the supreme example of the Saviour as the suffering Servant, in his incarnation, obedience, and exaltation. Paul's description sounds almost like a paraphrase of Isaiah 53. For instance, compare, "he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea the death of the cross" (Philippians 2:8), with "he was despised and rejected of men," (Isaiah 53:3); but emptied himself, taking the form of a bondservant," (2:7) with "he hath no form nor comeliness," (53:2); "wherefore also God highly exalted him," (2:9) with "Behold, my servant . . . shall be exalted and lifted up and shall be very high," and "therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong," 52:13 and 53:12.

"It should be remembered that the LXX often

represents ('Ebed) in Isaiah and elsewhere by δοῦλος (e. g. Isaiah 42:19; 48:20; 49:3, 5). It is therefore not improbable that St. Paul's words μορφὴν δούλου λαβών in Ph. 2:7 allude to the prophecies in Deutero-Isaiah. But in Ph. 2 the preceding and the succeeding context alike guard against any misconception."[26]

Paul gives us a similar picture of the love and humility of Christ in II Corinthians 8:9, when he writes: "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich."

Paul uses the phraseology of Isaiah 49:4 in application to himself in his work as an apostle of Christ in Philippians 2:16, "that I did not run in vain neither labor in vain"; Isaiah 49:4: "But I said, I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for naught and vanity."

The characteristics of the Servant are distinct and clear. "Meekness of wisdom" is his prominent and primary attribute. He is humble, meek, patient and self-sacrificing, dominated by love. We shall find exactly these characteristics in the few but significant descriptions of Jesus in Paul's writings. Paul was but very little interested in the earthly life of Jesus, but in a few references we see that he had a very true and deep understanding of the man "who went about doing good," and his characterization is that of the Servant. As proof of this, we appeal to his reference to "the meekness and gentleness of Christ"

[26] F. H. Chase, Hastings' *D. B.*, art. "Peter," p. 766, n.

(II Corinthians 10:1); and the declaration that "Christ also pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me" (Romans 15:3). The appeal to "the law of Christ"—"a spirit of gentleness" and "Bear ye one another's burdens"—in Galatians 6:1 f. carries the spirit of the Servant. And above all, the spirit of unselfish and patient ministering love (I Corinthians 13) belongs in this category. In his farewell message to the elders of Ephesus Paul gives us a saying of Jesus not found in the four gospels and sums up the character of Jesus in terms of our familiar figure: "In all things I gave you an example, that so laboring ye ought to help the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35).

In the Septuagint, which is generally Paul's version of the Servant-Songs, the writer declares: "Because his soul was delivered up to death, therefore he shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong" (Isaiah 53:12). "In his repeated employment of the figure of the risen Christ leading in triumph the released captives of the underworld, and distributing the spoil of the demonic powers Paul shows that he understands this passage as the Septuagint translator did, that the Servant receives as his portion 'many' who had been the captives of the Powers of darkness. It is so understood in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,* and by the second century Fathers."[27] There is something of this idea

[27] B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul,* p. 119.

in Colossians 2:15: "having despoiled the principalities and the powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (in the cross).

In Isaiah 53:10, the prophet says: "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days," etc. In Galatians 4:27, Paul quotes from Isaiah 54:1, the immediate context of the great Servant passage, to show the promise of the restored Jerusalem fruitful of children, and applies it to the Christians as the children of promise. This close relationship and parallelism to a portion of Isaiah 53 may suggest at least Paul's familiarity with the Servant poems.

We have mentioned practically all the passages in the Pauline writings which throw light upon Jesus as Paul understood him in the character of the Servant. Probably we should compare two passages from the Pastoral Epistles, written in the name of Paul: I Timothy 1:16, "that in me as chief might Jesus Christ show forth all his longsuffering"; and I Timothy 2:5, 6, "Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all." And there are two or three passages in Acts which purport to give the teaching of Paul, but in reality it is Petrine teaching in the name of Paul (cf. Acts 2:4). In his address at Antioch of Pisidia, Paul refers to the death of Jesus as being in fulfilment of prophecy (13:27, 29); and in 13:47, Isaiah 49:6 is quoted as a ground or justification for preaching the gospel to the Gentiles. At Thessalonica it is represented that Paul reasoned from the Scriptures "opening and alleging that it behooved the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from

the dead" (Acts 17:3). Again, in his defence before Festus and Agrippa, Paul declared that he had been accustomed to testifying from the "prophets and Moses," "how that the Christ must suffer, and how that he first by the resurrection of the dead should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles" (Acts 26:22, 23; cf. Isaiah 49:6).

3. His Interpretation of the Death of Christ—the Atonement. At the heart of Paul's teaching is his theory of the atonement, which is his explanation of the meaning of the death of Christ. The belief in the efficacy of Christ's death rested for Paul, as for the church in general, upon the authority of the Old Testament; but he goes beyond the primitive community in his theory of the atonement. His view of vicarious suffering and sacrifice, however, goes very little beyond a statement of what semed to be implied in the language of Isaiah 53 when combined with the teaching of the Old Testament about the necessity of the sinner's death. Although, as we have seen, Paul made but little direct use of that chapter, "yet it is not too much to say that it is always being paraphrased by him, and even when the passage was not actually present to his mind he had before him the tradition of the church which was mainly based upon that section of Isaiah, and in the light of which he found the same doctrine in other prophecies."[28]

In Paul, Christ's death is interpreted by the analogy of the bloody expiation exacted by justice from those who have been guilty of wilful sin (cf. I Kings

[28] See Hastings Rashdall, *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, 1920, p. 102.

2:31). The idea of expiation through suffering is an ancient one. When a wrong has been done for which the ceremonial system affords no remedy, atonement must be made by the death of the offender or his substitute. It is the presupposition of Isaiah 53, in which the stripes of the righteous Servant are the means by which the wicked are healed. In the New Testament it has its most signal illustration in the Pauline conception of the crucifixion as the voluntary acceptance on Christ's part, as a result of his self-indentification with humanity, of the consequences in suffering, shame, and death to which their own sin had made them liable.[29] Thus it is apparent that the Servant-passages must have influenced Paul deeply, although he does not quote nor appeal to them directly except in two or three cases.

Death was the penalty of sin (Romans 5:12); and the death of the Cross, more especially, involved the curse of the law (Galatians 3:13; Deuteronomy 21:23). But Christ was not liable to this penalty. There must, therefore, be some larger interpretation of his experience possible. Now already, in the most remarkable delineation of Old Testament religion, the Servant of Yahweh was represented as bearing "the sin of many" (Isaiah 53:12). Indeed, the idea of righteous men atoning for sinners finds noteworthy expression in IV Maccabees (17:22; 6:29), a Jewish document probably earlier than 50 A. D., and elsewhere probably employed by Paul (II Corinthians 11:3, Eve seduced by the serpent; cf. IV

[29] See W. Adams Brown on "Expiation and Atonement" in Hastings' *E. R. E.*

Maccabees 18:6-9). "So Paul's fundamental theory of the death of Christ seems to be that, in accordance with the will of the Father, Christ identified Himself so completely with sinful men that He took upon Himself the load of their transgressions and suffered in their stead the penalty of the broken Law, becoming an atoning sacrifice."[30]

Paul's Christology combines in a remarkable manner Hebrew and Gentile conceptions. He was a "Hebrew of the Hebrews"; but he was brought up in Tarsus, the great center of Greek culture and learning, and he was a missionary to the great Gentile world. He knew Hebrew theology well, with its conception of the divine "wisdom" as present with God before the foundation of the world (Proverbs 8:22, 23). He also knew something of Stoicism, with its doctrine of the universal, omnipresent, fashioning divine intelligence, the Logos, that in many ways resembled the Hebrew wisdom. He knew the Isaian conception of the suffering Servant. He also appears to have known IV Maccabees. The Christ of experience was pre-existent and post-existent in glory for Paul; but the Jesus of history was the suffering Servant (Philippians 2:6-11). Paul thus combines these three elements in his Christology. "In it appear the suffering and exalted servant, the pre-existent divine wisdom, the divine agent in creation, and the redeemer power who for man's sake came down from heaven, died, and rose again."[31]

[30] H. A. A. Kennedy, *The Pauline Theology,* in Peake's *Commentary on the Bible,* p. 810.
[31] W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church,* pp. 35-41.

4. Why the Doctrine is not more Prominent. Although it is possible to trace the effects of the Servant-idea on Paul's thinking and teaching, it is strange that he did not make more direct use of the Servant-passages. This surprising omission requires explanation. Paul inherited this doctrine as a part of the common faith (I Corinthians 15:3), but he is independent in his use and development of the idea. Paul was an independent thinker and theologian. He received his revelation directly from God, and not from man. But he does not set aside the Servant-teaching; he appropriates and embodies it in his own explanations of the deep things of our religion. The doctrine serves him well, but it is completely amalgamated so that it is almost lost to the casual student of his writings.

Professor B. W. Bacon holds that the dropping out of direct reference to the "Servant" was due partly to the unavoidable exposure of the Isaian doctrine to abuse, especially when (as in the Markan form of expression "a ransom instead of [ἀντί] many") it becomes a doctrine of substitution of the innocent for the guilty.[32] Paul always avoids this extreme view. He speaks only of a sacrifice "for" (περί) sin, and of Christ's suffering "for our advantage" (ὑπέρ). And it is not surprising that in the period of reaction to neo-legalism which set in after the death of Paul the doctrine of "grace" in the strongly "evangelical" form should have become still further obscured.

Paul was not interested in the earthly life of Jesus.

[32] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, 1921, p. 116.

To him Christ was the pre-existent, heavenly, Son of God, and now made "Lord" by the power of the resurrection. The higher forms of Christology developed rapidly as men meditated on the Person of Christ, and Paul was the great forerunner in this movement. Naturally the prophecy which pictured the earthly humiliation and suffering had a tendency to drop out as the years separated from the actual earthly life, and the death, of Jesus. Therefore the omission of the title "Servant of the Lord" might possibly be accounted for by Paul's high Christology, wherein Isaiah 53 is far transcended. The resurrection and exaltation of Christ at the right hand of the Father changed the point of view of the early Christians, and away from an earthly life of humiliation and suffering. "It opened the way to all that galaxy of fantastic notions which clung about the Jewish notion of the Messiah. This threw the Christological interpretation more naturally into the sphere of Paul's thought and made him the truer expositor of Jewish-Christian experience."[33]

The general principle applies for later Christian generations, that before the deeper conceptions the simple titles of the early Christology pass away; and we see this tendency beginning in Paul. But these earlier conceptions are absorbed, not destroyed, supplemented and not supplanted. This applies especially to the Servant-idea. The human life, the sinless character, the suffering Redeemer, the type of obedience, these still live on in the deeper theology of

[33] H. H. Lindemann, "Apostolic Christology," in *Biblical World*, 46: 14-25, July, 1915.

Paul, and of the Johannine writings, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. For example, in Hebrews, Jesus is not called παῖς Θεοῦ, but he is still the type of obedience, who "learned obedience by the things which he suffered" (Hebrews 5:8).[34] This conception is seen especially in the primitive Christology of Revelation. Christ's priesthood is based on his martyrdom. He is the slain (passover) lamb (ἀρνίον).

The Hebrew term *Ebed Yahweh,* "Servant of Yahweh," has not so plainly the double sense of its Greek rendering παῖς Κυρίου, which means either "child" or "servant of the Lord." This ambiguity of the Greek term, and also the difficulty of explaining the title to Gentile converts, may have led to its disuse. The titles "Son of God" and "Lord" were more congenial to the Hellenistic world. This double sense is seen in the Wisdom of Solomon, which develops the Isaian figure of the martyred Servant, making him the hero of "faith" (3:9, 16:26) where "son" (υἱός) and "servant" are used interchangeably.[35]

IV. In First Peter

The recognition of the share of Silvanus in writing I Peter has spread in recent years; it is advocated in different forms by Zahn, Usteri, Bacon, Bigg, Monnier, and Hart. According to this theory Peter either dictated the letter, or entrusted its composition to Silvanus (Zahn, Feine, Wohlenberg), revising and sanctioning his work. This view serves to ac-

[34] See W. Lock, "Christology of the Earlier Chapters of the Acts," in *Expositor,* IV Series, 1891, pp. 178-190.
[35] See B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul,* pp. 115 ff.

count fairly well for the data of the Epistle, the primitive and even Petrine cast of the ideas on the one hand, and the power of handling Greek upon the other. Moffatt says: "That the general tone and standpoint are Peter's, need not be doubted, in view of the coincidences between the epistle and the speeches of Peter in Acts."[36]

It is true, nevertheless, that we have here "Pauline teaching in the name of Peter," as Professor B. W. Bacon insists.[37] "The writer is a Paulinist if ever there was one." "And yet it is evident," says A. C. McGiffert, "that though at bottom a genuine Paulinist in his conception of Christianity, he had felt to some extent the influence of the common views . . . which prevailed so widely in his day. . . . The sufferings of Christ are looked upon not simply in their redemptive value, as effecting the death of the flesh, and thus the believer's release from its bondage, but also in their moral value as an example for the Christian."[38] Both Harnack and Jülicher[39] say that if the Epistle lacked the opening word "Peter," no one would have conjectured that Peter wrote it. This is putting the matter rather too strongly. We should agree with Moffatt: "Instead of I Peter representing a diluted and faded Paulinism, it denotes an attitude influenced, but essentially uncontrolled, by the special ideas of Paul's theology."[40] And the Epistle may be explained in many cases, not

[36] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 333.
[37] *Jesus and Paul*, p. 154.
[38] *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 486 f.
[39] *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Tübingen, 1919, p. 178.
[40] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 331.

by reference to Paul, but by reference to the memory of Jesus in the first instance, and to the suggestions of the Old Testament in the next. At any rate, so far as our study is concerned it points not so much to Paul as to Jesus and the ancient Scriptures.

The close connection in ideas and atmosphere of this letter and the Petrine speeches in Acts has long been recognized. This is of special significance in a study of the suffering Servant. We have noted the primitive character of the Christology of the Petrine speeches, with their use of the title παῖς, which is most certainly based on Deutero-Isaiah. Likewise we find in I Peter that the sufferings and death of Christ are much emphasized, and Isaiah 53 is definitely referred to in this connection (I Peter 2:21-25). The Epistle reflects the outlook of a primitive Christian who had breathed the Messianic atmosphere of the better Judaism. It bears throughout an Old Testament impress. The religion of Christ is the realization of the hope of Israel. The Saviour is the fulfilment of the prophetic Scriptures. This conception, as we have seen, underlies the Petrine discourses in the Acts. This similarity of ideas may be due to indebtedness on the part of the author of I Peter to I Acts, or it may be due to the use on the part of both of the common ideas and traditions of the primitive church. In any case, the consonance is such as to lead us to see that the tradition underlying the speeches reflects the same mind as the Epistle.[41] And we are convinced that the use

[41] See Moffatt, *Introd. to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 335, and Stevens, *The Theology of the New Testament*, p. 293.

of the doctrine of the Servant is primitive and is due primarily to the Petrine influence in the early church. The use of the Isaian doctrine of the Servant in application to Christ is limited in the New Testament largely to Q, to Luke-Acts, and to I Peter. Certainly the Petrine influence is prominent in the last two, and Peter is the chief apostle in the Synoptic Gospels.

Historical criticism of the early sources leads to the conviction that Peter's "turning again" was the strategic point in the origin of Christianity after the death of Jesus, and his leadership and teaching, based largely on the farewell message of Jesus at the Supper and the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant in the Old Testament, were the determining factors in the early usage and application of the παῖς Θεοῦ to Jesus. In the farewell of Jesus to his disciples before his death, he took pains to impress upon them in terms which could not be, and which never were, forgotten, that his body and blood were "devoted" for their sake. In Mark's description of the scene, and in the dependent passage of Matthew 26:28, this evangelist employs the single Isaian word "many" (Mark 14:24, "My blood shed for many"; cf. 10:45). Then the week following that fateful Passover in Jerusalem "finds Peter a fugitive in Galilee, broken-hearted with shame and despair." Next came the spiritual crisis which led him to "turn again and strengthen his brethren" when his mind recalled the words, "Simon, . . . I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not" (Luke 22:31, 32). Perhaps the next step was the gathering of the

Twelve whom Peter now "strengthened," and after that the "five hundred at once." On the great day of Pentecost, the Spirit came upon these "strengthened" disciples and they became witnesses with power. Peter is at once the spokesman for them, according to Acts, and the idea of the suffering and death of Jesus being in fulfillment of Scripture and the picturing of Jesus as the martyred παῖς becomes a prominent feature in his speeches. The leading factor in this must have been the parting message of Jesus at the Supper, together with the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant. It is interesting to imagine the possibility of Peter hearing Isaiah 53 read in the synagogue on that Sabbath immediately following the days of the Passover as it still reads in the Aramaic Targum:

"Behold my Servant the Messiah shall prosper. He shall be high, and increase and be exceedingly strong." After a description of Israel's humiliation: "then for our sins he will pray, and our iniquities for his sake shall be forgiven. All we like sheep had been scattered. We had each wandered off on his own way. But it was the Lord's good pleasure to forgive the sins of all of us for his sake. He prayed and was answered, and ere even he had opened his mouth he was accepted." Of the deliverance which should follow the suffering the Targum has this to say: "It is the Lord's good pleasure to test and to purify the remnant of his people so as to cleanse their souls from sin. These shall look on the kingdom of their Messiah. . . . From the subjection of the nations he will deliver their souls. By his wisdom he

will hold the guiltless free from guilt, to bring many in subjection to the Law, and for their sins he will intercede. . . . He shall intercede for many sins; yea, even the rebellious for his sake shall be forgiven."[42]

It has been necessary to deal with the origin and development of the Servant-idea at this point before taking up the study of this very important book, I Peter, which gives the last prominent use in the New Testament, and which connects itself so closely with I Acts and the Petrine influence and tradition. We turn now to a careful study of the application and usage in the epistle itself.

I Peter was written sometime between 75 to 96 A. D. (Harnack, Kruger, Knopf). "Its keynote is steady encouragement (5 : 10; Luke *22* : 32) to endurance in conduct and innocence in character." Of its two distinctive theological ideas (1 : 10 f.; 3 : 19 f.), the first has important bearing on our subject. Written to meet a situation of persecution and suffering, and with the keynotes mentioned above, no wonder that the figure of the gentle, patient, suffering Servant would become prominent, or at least form the background in the writer's delineation of Jesus.

There are three classes of passages in I Peter which have some bearing on our subject: (1) those which refer to the sufferings of Christ, usually presented as an example of patience and long suffering to be emulated by the Christian who suffers (1 : 10, 11; 3 : 8-12, 18; 4 : 1, 13; 5 : 1); (2) one passage on

[42] See B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul,* pp. 111-115, for a very instructive discussion of this matter.

redemption (ἐλυτρώθητε, "ye were redeemed"), "with the blood of Christ" (1:18, 19; cf. also 1:2; 3:18); and (3), a quotation from, and an adaptation of, Isaiah 53, which carries also both ideas of the other passages cited above (2:21-25). Now let us take up these passages in order.

1. *The Sufferings of Christ.* There is much emphasis on the sufferings of Christ. The writer lays stress on the fact that those sufferings were foretold by the prophets, and that it was through them that the promised Messianic salvation was to be accomplished (1:10, 11). The conception of the prediction of the sufferings of Christ in the prophets was a common one, as we have seen, in the Lukan source which makes the figure of Peter so prominent (Luke 24:26, 46; Acts 3:18; 17:3; 26:22, 23). In the period in which I Peter arose there was no difficulty in considering Christ as the inspirer of prophecy whether as pre-existent, historic, or glorified. There is difficulty in determining the exact meaning of v. 11, but the main thing set forth is that the sufferings of Christ were foretold by the prophets and these were inspired by the Spirit of Christ.

The writer seems to be concerned primarily with encouraging and inspiring his readers in their suffering "for righteousness' sake" by the example of Christ (3:8-18)—"blessed are ye." The attributes emphasized in this paragraph are those which belong preëminently to the Isaian Servant—"be ye all like-minded, sympathetic, loving, as brethren, tender-hearted, humble-minded." Psalm 34:12 ff. is quoted. The whole exhortation is enforced by appeal to the

example of Christ, "Because Christ also suffered [many ancient authorities read *died*] for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous" (3:18). We have a similar appeal in 4:1: "Forasmuch then as Christ suffered in the flesh, arm ye yourselves also with the same mind." Christians who thus suffer are even "partakers of Christ's sufferings" and will therefore share in his glory—a just ground for rejoicing (4:13; cf. 5:1).

These verses show, in the main, that the sufferings of Christ were foretold by the prophets, and the example of his suffering should present an ethical appeal to Christians under trial. There is no use made here of the Isaian Servant, but Isaiah 53 was usually appealed to in the Lukan-Petrine sources as a prediction of the sufferings of Christ, and no doubt this great chapter was constantly before the writer's eyes. This becomes practically a certainty when one examines more closely his use of the Isaian figure in 2:21-25.

2. A Passage on Redemption. Redemption or "ransom" "with the blood of Christ" (1:18, 19) brings us yet nearer the Isaian figure. In the clause, "ye were redeemed, not with . . . silver" (οὐκ ἀργυρίῳ ἐλυτρώθητε), there is an allusion to Isaiah 52:3, οὐ μετὰ ἀργυρίου λυτρωθήσεσθε. Ἄμωμος is used of Christ in a passage very similar to this, Hebrews 9:14. The physical perfection of the victim is regarded as typical of the sinlessness of Christ, which makes his blood "precious." Christ is called ὁ ἀμνός by the Baptist, John 1:29, 36; in Revelation 5:6 and elsewhere the word used is ἀρνίον. The

Paschal lamb or kid is called πρόβατον τέλειον, Exodus 12:5. In Isaiah 53:7 the sheep is slain, the lamb is only shorn, and it has been questioned whether the prophet in this particular verse is thinking of the Paschal lamb or, indeed, of any sacrifice at all. Isaiah 53, however, is full of sacrificial imagery, and the suffering Servant is one who makes atonement (τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει), and as a redeemer (τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν); indeed the ideas of atonement and redemption are blended throughout the chapter. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this great chapter was in the mind of the author of I Peter here.[43] Considering the use which our author makes of Isaiah 53, we may even find in 1:2, "unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ," an allusion to Isaiah 52:15, where Aquila and Theodotion have "sprinkled many nations" (ραντιεῖ). But the idea of the "sprinkling" of the blood of Jesus in I Peter is derived directly perhaps from the Epistle to the Hebrews. Compare also in this connection 2:21-25 and 3:18, where the ideas of atonement and redemption are more clearly evident. But we shall see more of this as we proceed to study the main passage in our epistle (2:21-25).

3. A Quotation from Isaiah 53. First of all, it will be observed that there are four expressions in the passage 2:21-25, which are taken substantially from Isaiah 53, and follow almost literally the Septuagint version: "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth" (Isaiah 53:9, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ

[43] See Charles Bigg, *Int. Crit. Comm., ad. loc.*

ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ); "who his own self bare our sins" (53:4; cf. also v. 12,—οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει); "by whose stripes ye were healed" (53:5, τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν); "for ye were going astray like sheep" (Isaiah 53:6, πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν). The use of these expressions, combined with the evidence of 1:11, leaves no room for doubt that the writer regarded the Isaian passage as predictive and as fulfilled in Jesus. The two passages are complementary, one declaring that the prophets foretold the sufferings of Christ but without naming the passages, and the other applying to Jesus, in respect to his sufferings, the language of Isaiah 53, but without expressly saying that the language was predictive. There can be no doubt, then, that the author of I Peter included Isaiah 53 among the passages which he understood to be definite predictions of the sufferings of Jesus. What other passages he may have included in the same list we do not know.[44]

In the present passage the author begins with the simple object of inculcating patience; hence in the opening words (2:21) he speaks of Christ as the great example, "because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example." But he proceeds quite naturally to enlarge and deepen the thoughts by dwelling on the redemptive character of Christ's death (2:24; cf. 3:18). This language evidently means that the sufferings and death of Christ had atoning value for the sins of men. Ἀναφέρειν is

[44] See E. D. Burton, J. M. P. and G. B. Smith, *Biblical Ideas of Atonement*, Chicago, 1909, pp. 204, 205.

commonly used in the LXX of bringing a sacrifice and laying it upon the altar. Here the author of our epistle puts the cross in the place of the altar. The addition of ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον (cf. Deuteronomy 21 : 23) was, no doubt, suggested by the use of ἀνήνεγκε in Isaiah 53 : 12. But the use of the verb in this verse appears to be due to the LXX translators; in v. 4 we have τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει, and the Hebrew word is the same in both places. Isaiah is alluding in both verses to the sin-offering. Cheyne says in regard to Isaiah 53 : 4: "The meaning is first of all that the consequences of the sins of his people fell upon him the innocent; but next and chiefly that he bore his undeserved sufferings as a sacrifice on behalf of his people." And he adds, "This is the first of twelve distinct assertions in this one chapter of the vicarious character of the sufferings of the Servant."[45] But the turn given the words in I Peter represents Christ not only as the sin-offering, who bore the consequences of the sins of his people on the cross of shame, but as the priest who took the sin, or the sin-offering (ἡ ἁμαρτία = τὰ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, Leviticus 6 : 26), and laid the sacrifice on the altar of the cross (ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον). This is made even clearer by the expanding of αὐτὸς into the highly emphatic αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ. To be sure, as we have seen, an ethical significance is introduced at the first: in Christ's sacrificial death there is an example for our imitation; those to whom he writes were redeemed from their vain manner of life handed down from their fathers, with the

[45] *Prophecies of Isaiah,* vol. ii., *ad loc.*

precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot and without blemish (1:18, 19), and in suffering for them Christ has given them an example, that they should follow his steps (2:21). But fundamental is the thought of the expiatory death, though the use made of the death of Christ is ethical.[40]

At any rate, a study of these passages which bear on the sufferings and death of Christ should convince any reasonable critic that the author of this epistle saw in Jesus the fulfilment of the idea of the suffering Servant, and that the character of this Isaian figure was constantly before the writer's mind. He does not use the title "Servant" in application to Jesus, but the fundamental idea carried by the title is clearly present and strongly emphasized. In fact, the Epistle testifies to the thorough working out of that analogy between the suffering Servant of Isaiah and the crucified Messiah, the frequent use of which has been noted in the Petrine speeches in Acts. There it was in the formative stage; here it is practically full-grown.

[40] But see G. H. Gilbert, *The First Interpreters of Jesus*, pp. 233 f.

III

APPLICATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. II

1. In the Second or Teaching Source (Q)

An attempt, so far advanced by the critics, to determine the original extent of Q is admittedly highly speculative. The primary definition of Q, "coincident material of Matthew and Luke not contained in Mark," is certainly too narrow for the Second Source, which we might designate S. S was greater than Q because the Second Source undoubtedly contained some of the material which now appears only in Matthew or only in Luke (single-tradition), as well as some which appears in all three Synoptics (triple-tradition material), and thus eludes identification. It is hardly correct to say that Q was a mere collection of sayings, "oracles" (λόγια), or that it contained practically no narrative material and no account at all of the Passion and Resurrection. It may have contained some of all of these types, more than likely did. Professor B. W. Bacon says: "Most emphatically it was 'gospel', and its central theme was Israel's rejection of 'the Son of man.' "[47] And so it is quite wrong to speak as if Q (double-tradition material) and the Second Source were the same thing; and yet the identification of this larger Second Source is precarious and not much more than careful guessing.

[47] See however, Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 202 f.

Here we shall limit ourselves, however, to Q alone and thus find out all we can about the use made of the Isaian Servant by this ancient "gospel." It is usually admitted that Q was earlier than Mark; indeed, B. H. Streeter puts it twenty years earlier. He characterizes the gospels in their evolution as follows: "Q implies a Palestinian background in the Apostolic Age, Mark is Roman and transitional, Matthew and Luke are distinctly sub-Apostolic."[48] Moffatt says of Q: "It is thus an apostolic Aramaic treatise which has every likelihood of having been composed prior not only to Mark, but to the Ur-Marcus; it reflects the faith, mission, and sufferings of the primitive Jewish Christian church of Palestine, long before the crisis of 70 A. D. began to loom on the horizon."[49] This early Palestinian background and connection with the Apostolic Age is interesting for our study, for it is just in that period that the Servant-idea was emphasized; and we shall find that this idea is prominent in Q. One wonders what connection there was between Q, I Acts, and the Third Gospel. The doctrine of the Servant is found especially in these three, and in I Peter. The names of Peter and Luke are connected with all four. The whole spirit and purpose of the Second Source are more nearly reflected in Luke than in Matthew. The author of Luke-Acts, whoever he may have been, had access to some very primitive source or

[48] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem,* p. 209. But Streeter, in his more recent work, *The Four Gospels,* Macmillan, New York, 1925, p. 150, modifies his view by putting Q only ten years before Mark.

[49] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament,* p. 203.

sources. The lines of evidence seem to converge on the Petrine influence as primary and basal on the use of the Servant-doctrine.

There are four main sections in Q which bring before us the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant, as follows: (1) the temptation of Jesus (Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13); (2) the last message to John the Baptist (Matthew 11:2-11; Luke 7:18-28); (3) thanksgiving and gracious invitation (Matthew 11:25-30; Luke 10:21, 22); (4) the wail over Jerusalem (Matthew 23:34-39; Luke 11:49-51 and 13:34, 35).

1. The Temptation of Jesus. As we have seen heretofore, Jesus became conscious of his mission at his baptism, and this self-consciousness in the form of a voice from heaven was in terms of the Isaian Servant, coupled with the second Psalm, "Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased" (Isaiah 42:1; Psalm 2:7). The connected Q story of the Temptation (Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13) also implies a revelation to Jesus, "Thou art the Son of God." This vision-story of the Temptation is thus continuous with that of the Baptism, or Vocation, interpreting its significance (what is to follow "if thou art the Son of God"). Jesus was at the beginning of his ministry. He had to face the question as to the character of his vocation. Was he to be a Son-of-David Messiah, a conquering Messiah? No; his ideal is that of the suffering Servant of Isaiah. Not only the question of the Messiahship, but the fundamental character of two religions seems to be in conflict here, the religion of Judaism in its

external and formal aspects and the religion of Jesus, the religion of the spirit, the religion of love and service. The deep note of the Isaian Servant-songs is sounded, and the high ideal advanced there is accepted by Jesus, the greatest Servant of all. The ideal which he set before himself for realization was not that of the Davidic kingship as popularly interpreted, but that of the Servant of Jehovah. Evidently he came to know himself to be the one in whom prophecy terminated, who had come to fulfil the best hopes of Israel, to establish over all mankind the rulership of God, but it was his supremely delicate task "to claim the substance and disown the popular form of Messiahship." The primary significance of the Temptation was that he was called upon to decide whether he would follow the popular conception of Messiah's work, or, deserting this, choose out another, a higher course of action. He chose for himself that higher course of action. He rejected "the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them" (Matthew 4:8). What the fatherly will of God demanded was not to rule over others, but to render loving, sacrificial, unselfish service. He came to see that the establishment of an earthly sovereignty did not befit the nature of the Messianic kingdom, but would rather serve the purposes of sin and Satan. The temptations came to an end when he saw that the final goal to which the alluring thoughts pointed —namely, the idea of the necessity of earthly power, glory, and sovereignty of the Messiah—was not really in harmony with the will of God and could not

be reached in the pathway of loyal obedience to him.[50]

"The conception of Jesus presented in Q is that of the Servant of God who is the incarnation of His redeeming Spirit of Wisdom."[51] In the temptation-story a three-fold contrast is drawn between the career of the Servant-son as conceived by men and as conceived by the Wisdom of God; and this story serves in the Second Source a purpose similar to that of the prologue of Mark or John, that is, it gives the reader a survey of the career that opens before Jesus as "the Son of God." In two of the temptations we have the figure of the Isaian Servant-son, as reproduced and developed in the pre-Christian Alexandrian writing, the Wisdom of Solomon, where the title is used not in the sense of "servant" but "son" of God, and interchangeably with υἱός as a designation of Israel, God's agent for giving "the incorruptible light of the law to the race of men" (Wisdom 18:4). Wisdom 16:20-26 employs the same passage from Deuteronomy (8:3) which is placed in the mouth of Jesus in the first temptation, and in the same application. According to Wisdom, Israel was given "Angels' food to eat," "bread from heaven," in the wilderness in order

> "That thy sons, whom thou lovedst (οἱ υἱοί σου οὓς ἠγάπησας), O Lord, might learn
> That it is not the growth of the earth's fruits that nourisheth a man
> But that thy word preserveth them that trust thee."

[50] See Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, vol. i, pp. 99 ff.
[51] B. W. Bacon, *Christianity Old and New*, pp. 160 ff.

That this throws light on the exposition of the meaning of the temptation, "If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread," is very clear. Jesus replied: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matthew 4:4, 5).

Still more distinctly does the description of Israel's humiliation as the martyr-people in Wisdom 2:12-20 present the lesson of the Gospel temptation of the "Son" to expect supernatural aid: "If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down, for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee," etc. (Matthew 4:6, quoting Psalm 91:11, 12). The wicked deride the Righteous Servant and put him to a shameful death, to see if his words are true:

"He professeth to have knowledge of God,
And nameth himself Servant (mg. "child") of the Lord (Παῖς Θεοῦ).
The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy;
And he vaunteth that God is his father.
Let us see if his words be true,
And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life.
For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him,
And he will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.
With outrage and torture let us put him to the test,
That we may learn his gentleness,
And may prove his patience under wrong.
Let us condemn him to a shameful death;
For he shall be visited according to his words."

I have given the quotation at length in order that the close parallelism with the second temptation might be impressed deeply on the reader's mind. The

martyrdom issues in a crown of immortality for the Righteous, God finding them "worthy of Himself."

"And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.
They that trust in Him shall understand truth,
And those that are faithful in love shall have their dwelling with Him" (Wisdom 3: 1-10).

Here we see clearly the humiliation and exaltation of the Righteous Servant-son of Isaiah. For to the Righteous, as well as to Jesus, clearly, "faith is the victory which overcomes the world."

We do not need special parallels to explain to us the third temptation with its contrast of a "Son of God" who sits on the throne of David, the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them at his feet, with another who rejects all this as a kingdom of Satan, a kingdom according to the things of men. We see a contrast here between the Davidic kingship and the suffering Servant of Isaiah. Jesus accepted the doctrine of the meek, suffering, and vicarious Servant; and in Q the Temptation stories serve the purpose of a general introduction to the life and teaching of Jesus, "explaining by their symbolism in what sense his claim to be the Son of God is to be understood, and how his humble obedience unto death, even the death of the cross, so far from conflicting with the scriptural ideal, is precisely in line with the divine purpose as revealed by Isaiah and those who followed with similar insight."[52]

2. Last Message to John the Baptist. The next great passage in Q which shows us the characteriza-

[52] B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, p. 185.

tion of Jesus as the Servant is found in the last message of Jesus to John the Baptist (Matthew 11:2-11, Luke 7:18-28). John in prison hears of Jesus' work of healing and comfort to the poor and penitent, his "good tidings to the poor," and he sends to enquire if this may perchance be the expected Christ: "Art thou he that cometh, or look we for another?" Jesus sends reply in the words of Isaiah 35:5 and 61:1: "Go your way and tell John the things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them." The work of Jesus corresponds to the work of the Isaian Servant, who brings healing, comfort and "glad tidings to the poor."

A. E. Garvie offers the interesting suggestion that the saying of the Baptist recorded in the Fourth Gospel, which most scholars have found it impossible to accept as a genuine utterance of the Baptist at the time, "Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!" (John 1:29), presents "a solitary prophetic intuition" which Jesus communicated to John at this time, and in it we have Jesus' ideal of his own career based on Isaiah 53; "that Jesus for a time at least raised John's mind to the height of His own insight; that when the influence of Jesus was withdrawn John relapsed to his own familiar modes of thought; and that the answer of Jesus by the two disciples on a later occasion was a kindly reminder of the conversation in which He had persuaded him of the truth and rightness of the

ideal which he was faithfully realizing (Matthew 11:5."[53] Although this is a conjecture, it is an interesting one; and, whether true or not, the passage is strong confirmation of the Servant-doctrine as the ideal of Jesus in Q.

3. Thanksgiving and Gracious Invitation. The next passage to consider is the thanksgiving and gracious invitation of Matthew 11:25-30; Luke 10:21, 22. Here there is placed in the mouth of Jesus a typical Hymn of Wisdom celebrating the knowledge of God given to "the Son," and commending it in phraseology taken largely verbatim from the Wisdom writers to "babes." In Q the conception of Jesus' work of healing and glad tidings to the poor, as well as the dedication of his calling to be a "son" in the sense of the submissive and martyred Servant, presupposes the same conception as Paul sets forth, based on the Servant-songs of Isaiah. But there is this difference, that in the Second Source this Isaian conception is even more strongly tinctured than in Paul with ideas characteristic of the later Wisdom literature. We see this in the appearance of Wisdom's redemptive activity as God's agent in winning back lost and erring humanity. In this Hymn of Wisdom Matthew 11:25 ff. follows the stereotyped form of such lyrics, "Wisdom praises herself" as the means of human redemption. "No student of lyric Wisdom, with its appeals to wayward men, and its claims to a knowledge of God given only to His chosen, can mistake the nature of this hymn." Wisdom speaks here in

[53] *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus,* pp. 125-126.

the name of the Isaian Servant-Son, whose mission is to bring back all the wandering races of men by his knowledge of the true God. Jesus, as supreme leader in the divinely-given redemptive mission of Israel the Servant, is presented here as "Wisdom" incarnate. The distinctive Christology of the Second Source comes out here. The divine "good pleasure" (εὐδοκία), for this writer, is an indwelling of the "fulness" of the Spirit of Adoption in Jesus as the chosen Son (cf. the voice at the Baptism), the representative of Israel as the elect Servant of God, he whose mission is to bring the world to a saving knowledge of the Father. The author of this Source thinks of Jesus as the Servant "despised and rejected of men," a man meek and lowly winning the lost ones, "for I am meek and lowly in heart."

It is interesting to note that the words of the soliloquy in Isaiah 50:4, "The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of them that are taught (Limmûdîm), that I may know how to sustain with words him that is weary" (Ya'ëph), harmonize with the invitation of Matthew 11:28, "Come unto me, all ye that labor" (κοπιῶντες). Both the Greek and the Hebrew express the exhaustion of fatigue. But compare Allen, who says of Matthew 11:28-30 that "there seems to be an undoubted dependence of these words upon Ecclus. 50, 51";[54] then he gives the comparisons in parallel columns (Matthew 11:28, πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες; cf. Ecclesiasticus 51:27, ἐκοπίασα, etc.).

4. The Wail over Jerusalem. The last passage which claims our attention is the lament over Je-

[54] "Comm. on S. Matthew," *I.C.C., ad loc.*

rusalem, Matthew 23:34-39; Luke 11:49-51 and 13:34, 35. This comes toward the close of Jesus' public ministry when he faces rejection at the hands of Israel. In Luke (11:49, 51) the utterance is explicitly ascribed to "the Wisdom of God." This redemptive Spirit sent the "prophets, wise men, and scribes," whom Israel had persecuted and rejected. The wail over Jerusalem comes from this same wooing and redeeming Spirit: "how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a mother bird gathereth her own brood under her wings, and ye would not." This utterance, with its context, is put in here because it expressed perfectly the writer's conception of Jesus' ministry to Israel and its outcome. He is the suffering Servant, meek and wooing, but rejected by his own people, as Israel had rejected her prophets.

Thus, despite the difficulty of reconstructing or identifying the full extent of the Second Source, by studying the passages which are most certainly in Q, we can get a reasonably clear view of this author's use of the Servant-doctrine. He thought of Jesus as the Servant-Son of Deutero-Isaiah, in combination with the development found in the Wisdom writings, and especially in the Wisdom of Solomon. "As divinely appointed leader of Israel to the fulfilment of its destiny to be Jehovah's Son and Servant to bring the knowledge of Him to all that are afar off, Jesus summed up the message of all the prophets and sages."[55]

[55] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, pp. 176-190.

II. In Mark

Our canonical Gospel of Mark was probably written in Rome about 75 A. D. The author bases his work upon an ancient Petrian tradition, though not without drastic recasting and supplementation from Q and from other sources. The question of Pauline elements in this gospel is a matter of sharp discussion among the critics. Moffatt, for instance, says: "The last-named scholar[56] attributes the radical Paulinism of the book to its redactor, but there is no conscious or radical 'Paulinism' in Mark."[57] But Moffatt agrees that in language and spirit it reflects the environment of the apostolic age, "and the Pauline gospel had entered into that environment." At any rate, the idea of the suffering Servant is not found in Mark as in Paul. Moreover, the writer knew nothing of Paul's view of Christ's pre-existence. A different type of Christology appears. In the thought of the author of Mark, Christ was from his baptism the Son of God by adoption (Mark 1:9-11; but compare I Peter 1:20 for a somewhat similar Christology). And the evangelist endeavors to show that he was the Son of God thereafter, in all his earthly lot. There was humiliation, indeed, but there was a glory also in his earthly life; and the glory and authority of the Son of God, who was also the Son of man, this evangelist keeps prominently to the front.[58]

[56] B. W. Bacon, *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, pp. xxvii f., xxxiv f.

[57] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 235.

[58] Cf. W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, pp. 35-41.

But in two passages in Mark (10:45 and 14:24) the language and thought in combination show that the suffering Servant, who bears the sin of "many" in his death, is remembered in connection with the sacrament. Elsewhere the Gospel of Mark contains scarcely a trace of this Isaian conception in application to Jesus. It has no occurrence of the words for "meekness" and "gentleness," nor any of their synonyms. Humility as a trait of Jesus is not emphasized, nor is anything said of his forbearance and longsuffering of evil. There is no attempt to present him as the Servant proclaiming "glad tidings to the poor" (but cf. 2:17). On the other hand, his distinctive and characteristic trait in Mark is authority. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake say: "In Mark and in Q there are no clear signs of any identification of Jesus with the sufferer of Isaiah 53."[59] But this statement needs explanation and modification; for, as we have seen already, Jesus is presented as the Servant in Q, and certainly there are at least two passengers in Mark which carry the idea.

1. The Ransom-Passage. Mark 10:45 has been discussed already in connection with the teaching of Jesus, but a word more is necessary here. The ideal of the greatness of service is presented as the heart of this whole incident of the ambition of James and John (Matthew 20:20-28, Mark 10:35-45). "Whosoever would be first among you shall be servant [Gr. "bondservant"] of all." And the *summum exemplum* of the greatness of service is seen in the greatest Servant of all, who "came not to be minis-

[59] *The Beginnings of Christianity,* vol. i, 386.

tered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν). This verse, 45, probably represents the words of the evangelist rather than the actual words of Jesus. Matthew adopts the same words (20:28), but Luke omits them. The word "ransom" here used occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, but cognate words are common. The word "many" used in this connection is certainly reminiscent of, if not based on, Isaiah 53. But Professor B. W. Bacon holds that the word "many" here is rather reminiscent of the Talmudic delineation of the figure of Moses as giving his life for the "many," which in turn is parallel to the Talmudic idea of Moses as the *Ebed Yahweh*. The saying implies, at least, that in some way the death of the Son of man will be serviceable to others.

2. *The Saying at the Last Supper.* Some have argued that the use of the word παραδίδωμι for "betray" in Mark 14:18, 21, etc., is connected with the constant use of the same word in Isaiah 53. The word is not rare, however, and it seems to be the most natural word to use in such a connection, and yet the word as used here may be related in some way to Isaiah 53. But further on in the same chapter of Mark (14:24) there is evidently a reminiscence of Isaiah 53, in the saying at the Last Supper: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many" (ὑπὲρ πολλῶν). Mark gives us the original saying here. Matthew adds: "unto remission of sins"; and the genuineness of the passage in Luke is questioned by many scholars, since it is omitted in some ancient manuscripts. Jesus looked upon his

approaching death as an act of self-sacrifice for his disciples, as having a vicarious efficacy, in the sense of the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the quotation of Isaiah 53 : 12 in Mark 15 : 28 (where the margin of the R. V. has: "Many ancient authorities insert v. 28, *And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was reckoned with transgressors.* See Luke 22 : 37") is not part of the true text, but is an interpolation from Luke 22 : 37. It may well be, however, that Mark 14 : 48 f. retains an obscure trace of this "fulfilment," while the story of the entombment (Mark 15 : 42-46) suggests a basic relation to Isaiah 53 : 9 (cf. Matthew 27 : 57-60).

III. In Matthew

In the Palestinian Gospel of Matthew the message is conceived "as Law and Promise." This late Gospel was constructed in the interest of a neo-legalistic type of Christianity. The "double-tradition" material, commonly designated Q, is nearly all consolidated into five books of precepts which give us the evangelist's "five-fold book of the new Torah."

The Gospel of Matthew represents an advanced stage of Christology. Matthew, like Luke, makes the manifestation of Christ's divine sonship date from the very inception of his earthly existence. He was of supernatural birth. The genealogies are given to prove that he was "son of David according to the flesh" but Divine Son from his birth. Like Mark and Luke, he regards the earthly life of Jesus as other than one of humiliation only. Jesus was the

Jewish Messiah, according to Matthew, and the primary purpose of the evangelist seems to be to establish this Messiahship by showing how from birth to ascension he fulfilled the Messianic requirements; lineage, birthplace, manner of birth, the events of his life, his death and resurrection, all pointing in the same direction. That the Old Testament prophecies concerning the Christ were fulfilled in the life of Jesus is demonstrated again and again.

We see the primitive Christian application of the doctrine of the Servant to Jesus continued, but in a more formal and mechanical adoption of Old Testament Scripture passages as fulfilled in Jesus. The Pauline doctrine of the exalted Intercessor, whose life was made a sin-offering on our behalf, has almost completely disappeared. Only in the words of the Sacrament itself (26:28), together with one other passage derived from Mark (20:27, 28), is the idea of forgiveness for the sake of Christ's suffering permitted to remain, and even here it is cancelled by Luke. In Matthew 8:14 we find the central passage of the Pauline doctrine, "He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows," translated, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases," and applied not to moral and spiritual, but to physical healing. Not only does the later tendency to abandon the title appear in this, but the conception of forgiveness because of the vicarious suffering of the Servant largely disappears.

There are three primary passages for the study of the use of the doctrine of the Servant in our First Gospel (8:17; 12:18-21; 26:28), together with

three or four other secondary or derived passages (3:17; 17:5; 20:27, 28; 27:42, 43).

The baptismal Voice, based on Isaiah 42:1 and Psalm 2:7, is found in Matthew (3:17), but it is derived from Mark (triple-tradition material), and therefore we cannot call it distinctive for this one evangelist. A. E. Garvie says that "Jesus' conception of righteousness was most probably that of Isaiah 53:11. The righteous Servant shall justify many because He shall bear their iniquities. It is in His vicarious consciousness and the sacrifice which this would ultimately involve that Jesus fulfilled all righteousness."[60] James Denny concurs in this view: "For in so identifying Himself with sinful men, in so making their last and most dreadful responsibilities His own, Jesus approved Himself the true Son of the Father, the true Servant and Representative of Him whose name from of old is Redeemer."[61] Such a view would place Matthew 3:15 among the passages having significance for the Servant-doctrine.

1. *A Quotation from Isaiah.* In Matthew 8:17 we find a quotation from Isaiah 53:4 (cf. also I Peter 2:24 and John 1:29). On a certain evening when many infirm people had been brought to Jesus for relief, the evangelist represents him as healing all that were sick, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, "Himself took our infirmities, and bare our diseases." Matthew follows an Aramaic version rather than the Greek;

[60] A. E. Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, p. 125.
[61] James Denney, *The Death of Christ*, p. 15.

Peter (I Peter 2:24) is freely, and John (1:29) still more freely, after the Greek. But Matthew gives a physical sense to the prophet's words, and finds them fulfilled in Jesus' acts of bodily healing; that is, he regards the diseases of men as having been transferred to Jesus and borne by him,—an idea not intended perhaps by the prophet. Peake, however, translates Isaiah 53:4: "But it was our sicknesses, that he bore, and our pains, he carried them";[62] and in the Revised Version the margin has "Hebrew *sicknesses*" instead of "griefs" (cf. Romans 5:6 above). But perhaps the evangelist meant to say merely that Jesus was burdened in soul by the sorrows of men. This would not be exactly the sense of the prophet, but a not unnatural extension of his thought.[63] Skinner says: "In Matthew 8:17 the words are applied to our Lord's miracles of healing, but the prophet's meaning plainly is that the Servant endured in his own person the final consequences of the people's guilt."[64] At any rate, the evangelist understands, and means to teach, that the idea of the suffering Servant is fulfilled in Jesus. Probably the real meaning is that Jesus healed those who were sick on that occasion not in order that what the prophet had spoken might be fulfilled, but with the result that it was fulfilled.

2. Quotation of Isaiah 42:1-4. The first of the so-called "Servant poems" (Isaiah 42:1-4) is quoted in application to Jesus in Matthew 12:18-21.

[62] *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 54.
[63] Cf. C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament.*
[64] "Isaiah," *Cambridge Bible, ad loc.*

The evangelist does not render from the Hebrew original, nor from the LXX (at least not from our present LXX text), but from some Aramaic version which gave a partly paraphrastic Messianic translation, such as is often found in our Targums. This Aramaic version may have been the synagogue oral version, rather than a written one.[65]

The Servant of Yahweh is described in Isaiah 42: 1-4 as quiet and gentle in his manner, unobtrusive and tender in the spirit and manner of his working, full of sympathy for the weak, yet so vigorous and persistent in his work that he would never cease till all the world had accepted the worship of Yahweh. This grand conception was never realized in the national Israel; but the picture of the spiritual Israel was embodied in the life of Jesus, whose method was a quiet and sympathizing appeal to men's hearts. The primary thing in the incident as recorded by the evangelist is the withdrawal of Jesus, conscious of having given deep offence, but anxious to avoid conflict and tragic consequences for the present. It is mainly to that fact that the evangelist attaches his noble picture of Jesus in the language of Deutero-Isaiah. It is not necessary to suppose that the historical basis of the picture is to be found exclusively in vv. 15, 16. It may be taken, in the evangelist's mind, from the whole story of Christ's life, from the baptism onwards.[66] But both the language (R-Matthew uses the LXX) and the small

[65] See Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament,* for original, translation, and careful comparison of Hebrew, LXX, and Matthew.

[66] Cf. Bruce, *Expositor's Greek Testament, ad loc.*

degree of applicability to the context would seem to indicate that the passage is borrowed. It belongs properly with the Baptism and Vocation. Compare Matthew 3:17 and 17:5 for two other uses of Isaiah 42 in application to Jesus, together with the reference to the Transfiguration Voice in II Peter 1:17.

The "ransom" passage (Matthew 20:27, 28) is probably derived from Mark (10:45), and consequently does not have weight on the special usage of our First Gospel.

3. Words at the Last Supper. The Pauline doctrine of the death of Christ as a sacrifice to make atonement for human sin is taught in Matthew 26:28: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many unto remission of sins." Matthew's account of this saying at the Last Supper is obviously dependent upon Mark's (Matthew 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20), and the most conservative critic will have no hesitation in treating the addition, "unto remission of sins," found in Matthew, as an explanatory gloss by the author or last editor of the First Gospel (perhaps transferred from Mark 1:4). These words carry the idea of forgiveness of sins based on the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus; and, added to the whole saying about "my blood of the covenant," are very convincing as to Matthew's conception of Jesus as the suffering Servant.

4. The Mocking of Jesus on the Cross. The narrative in Matthew of the mocking of Jesus on the cross by the Jewish leaders (Matthew 27:41-43; Mark 15:31, 32), studied in connection with Wis-

dom 2: 12 ff., has some weight in showing the doctrine of the Servant in our First Gospel. A comparison with Mark shows that Matthew has rewritten the narrative of Mark not only in the light of Psalm 22, but also in that of Wisdom 2: 12 ff.:

> But let us lay wait for the righteous man . . .
> He professeth to have knowledge of God,
> And nameth himself servant ['child'] of the Lord
> (Παῖς Κυρίου) . . .
> The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy;
> And he vaunteth that God is his father.
> Let us see if his words be true,
> And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life.
> For if the righteous man is God's son (υἱός), he will uphold him,
> And he will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.

Jesus is pictured here as the Servant suffering the taunts and derision of the enemy in a situation similar to that of the Righteous Man in Wisdom; and this, as we have seen, is a development and application of the Servant as seen in Deutero-Isaiah.

Matthew had as one great purpose in his Gospel to show that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah in fulfilment of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, as it was natural to expect, in carrying out this purpose he appealed to the "Servant poems" as part of his evidence. But the contrast with Luke as respects frequency of reference and degree of reliance on Servant "fulfilments" is very marked.

IV. In Luke

It is generally recognized that Luke and Acts have the same author and are in a way parts of the same

work. We have seen already the prominence of the Servant-doctrine in First Acts, and noted the fact that the same influence is apparent in the Third Gospel, especially the idea of the sufferings of Christ being foretold in the Scriptures. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke represent a reversion to the primitive belief, attested by Paul but neglected by Mark, that Jesus was "of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Romans 1 : 3). The supernatural birth shows that Jesus had been "the Son of God" from his mother's womb. There is no distinctive argumentative purpose in Luke's Gospel, such as we find in Matthew. The power and authority of Jesus is not emphasized as in Mark, but the social side of his life and teachings comes more to the front. The comprehensive sympathy of Jesus is brought out in his conversation with sinners, Samaritans, and women. Jesus as the suffering Servant appears hardly at all except by implication in the Galilean ministry. We shall find a few passages, however, which show an acquaintance with the idea of the Servant.

1. *In Chapters 1 and 2.* The first chapters of the third Gospel have strong Semitic coloring and obviously came from Jewish-Christian sources. The beautiful Palestinian hymns and the primitive descriptions of the Messiah are of special interest (1 : 32; 2 : 4, 11). In these opening chapters we are in the atmosphere of the Hebrew Scriptures. Jesus is to be son of David and Son of God according to the annunciation to Mary (1 : 32, 33, 35); and yet there is an indication that he is to be "despised and

rejected of men" by the statement of Simeon addressed to the *Mater Dolorosa:* "And for a sign which is spoken against; yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own soul" (2:35). This does not necessarily imply prevision of the cross; although on account of the strong implication, J. Weiss suggests that v. 35a is an editorial addition to his source by the evangelist. The influence of Isaiah 49:1-6 upon the editor of Luke's Gospel is seen in this Song of Simeon, Luke 2:30-32. The prediction in v. 32 is based primarily on the Old Testament (especially Isaiah 49:6), but it is also very common in the later Jewish writings. "The Gentiles receive light, Israel receives glory."

The Song of Mary (Luke 1:46-55) is made up almost entirely of Old Testament expressions, taken chiefly from the Song of Hannah and the Psalms, but 1:54 gives us a clause adapted from Isaiah 40:8, 9: "But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend; thou whom I have taken hold of [ἀντελαβόμην; Luke, ἀντελάβετο] from the ends of the earth," etc. "Hath holpen" means literally: "hath taken by the hand." Luke 1:54 has παιδὸς αὐτοῦ; LXX has παῖς μου twice. The highest ideals of Israel, παῖς μου, are to find realization in the mission of Jesus, according to the *Magnificat.*

2. In the Synagogue at Nazareth. When Jesus returned to Nazareth and preached there (Luke 4:16-21), he read in the synagogue on the Sabbath day Isaiah 61:1, 2 (except the phrase, "and the day of vengeance of our God"), and at the conclusion of

the reading declared: "To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears." The quotation is here freely taken by the evangelist from the LXX, possibly from memory, and with reminiscences, intentional or otherwise, of other passages. This passage is not usually included among the "Servant poems" by modern scholars, but the distinctive characteristics of the Servant are here in this beautiful description of the mission of the anointed prophet as he conceived it himself. Jesus, interpreting the words in the largest spiritual sense, adopts them, as expressing his own mission to free men from sin (so in Matthew 11:4, 5; Luke 7:22). The characteristics commonly associated with the Servant are emphasized by the fact that Jesus omits the last phrase of v. 2, the only part of the passage not in keeping with the gracious and beneficent spirit of the suffering Servant. It may be that the part quoted furnished sufficient text for his discourse, or he wished these gracious words to rest last on their ears, rather than the following words, "and the day of vengeance of our God."

3. *"Reckoned with Transgressors."* Addressing his disciples in regard to his approaching departure shortly before his arrest, Jesus is reported to have said that in him must be fulfilled this which is written: "And he was reckoned with transgressors" (22:37). This quotation agrees substantially with both the Hebrew and the Greek of Isaiah 53:12 (LXX has ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις, whereas Luke has μετὰ ἀνόμων; the verb ἐλογίσθη is the same in both). Jesus, to whom the words are here applied by him-

self, is the realization of this whole prophetic picture of the misunderstood, rejected, suffering Servant of Yahweh. This prophetic word was, as he says, fulfilled in him. In this particular connection, this quotation applied to Jesus probably means that he is about to die the death of a criminal (but cf. Mark 14:48 f.). As he adopted the description of the prophet's mission in Isaiah 61:1-2, as setting forth his own (Luke 4:16-21), so he adopts this picture of a life of sacrifice for others as a faithful portraiture of his life.

Mark 15:28, which gives this quotation in connection with the crucifixion of the robbers, is omitted from the Revised Version; for it is clearly an interpolation from Luke 22:37 and Isaiah 53:12.

4. Sufferings and Death. Jesus is represented as saying (Luke 22:37): "that this which is written must be fulfilled in me" (δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοί). No other or higher view of the rationale of Christ's sufferings is found in Luke's Gospel (cf. 24:26). A Paulinist in his universalism, he shows no acquaintance with Paul's theology of the atonement unless it be in 22:20, and this passage is not authentic. But the idea of Christ's sufferings being foretold in the Scriptures is a prominent one (9:31; 24:25-27, 44-47).

All three Synoptists give an account of the Transfiguration, but only Luke represents Moses and Elijah as speaking to Jesus of "his decease [ἔξοδον] which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem." The exodus ("departure") here spoken of (Luke 9:31) should be taken perhaps comprehensively as

including death, resurrection, and ascension; but the idea of suffering and death is there.

In Luke 24: 26, 27, the evangelist represents Jesus as appearing on the first day of his resurrection to a couple of disciples on the road of Emmaus, as rebuking them for their slowness of heart in believing all that the prophets had spoken, and as saying to them: "Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." Then in v. 46 Luke represents him as appearing somewhat later in the day to a company of his disciples in Jerusalem, and as saying to them: "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer."

In these verses the evangelist alludes to such Old Testament passages as were then supposed to refer to the Messiah, especially those descriptive of affliction and suffering, like Isaiah 53. Thus Jesus found in the Old Testament that which the Jews of his day did not find—a suffering Messiah. No doubt the things which Jesus is said to have interpreted concerning himself were applicable to him typically and spiritually, not directly or immediately. These passages in chapter 24 belong to Luke's special source and reflect the tendency of the Apostolic Age to see the sufferings and death of Christ foreshadowed in th Old Testament Scriptures. This is in harmony with First Acts, as we have seen. The identification of the Servant with Jesus is clearly evident in Luke-Acts, all the way from the beginning of Jesus' public ministry by his own application of Isaiah 61: 1, 2 to

himself (Luke 4: 16-21) to the taking of Isaiah 53: 7, 8 as expressly prophetic of Jesus, when Philip began from this scripture and "preached unto him Jesus." Compare in addition Acts 17: 3 and 26: 23, which speak of the Christ as suffering in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures.

v. In Hebrews

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews is no mere Paulinist, but a bold, original, and independent Christian thinker worthy of comparison with Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel. He belongs to the period of Christian life and thought about the time of the reign of Domitian (81-96 A. D.). The writer and the readers belonged to the second generation (2: 3). The author was a literary Hellenist, familiar with Alexandrian philosophy. He is interested in academic and philosophic Judaism, but he writes with the very practical purpose in view of strengthening sluggish and wavering Christians. He makes large use of the LXX, but he is interested primarily in the tabernacle and the Levitical sacrifices. Through suffering and death Christ became a Saviour (2: 14-18; 10: 5-10); he is the high priest who offers his life in obedience and patience to cleanse the hearts of men. He finds a greater value in the earthly life and experiences of Jesus than Paul did; but these earthly, human experiences by which he came to understand man's infirmities and needs were a preparation for his high-priesthood in our behalf; the center of interest is his heavenly activity on our behalf, offering sacrifice and interceding

with God. This central interest, coupled with his high Christology, his emphasis on the *superiority* of Christ, must be part of the explanation why he ignores Isaiah 53. "The absence of reference to Isaiah 53 is remarkable."[67]

1. The Sufferings and Death of Jesus. It seems strange that the writer does not connect the sufferings of Jesus with Old Testament prophecy, either generally (as, for example, Luke 24:26, 27, 46), or with a specific reference to Isaiah 53. And yet to deal adequately with the sufferings and death of Jesus as set forth in Hebrews would require a careful exposition of a long list of passages (*e.g.* 2:9, 10, 17, 18; 5:7-10; 9:26-28, etc.); and this in turn would demand an exposition of almost the whole epistle. "He explains them on the ground of moral congruity. . . . God's purpose of grace made it befitting and indeed inevitable that Jesus should suffer and die in fulfilling his function as a saviour (2:10); then (vv. 11 f.) it is shown how he made common cause with those whom he was to rescue."[68]

2. An Echo of Isaiah 53:12. There is, however, one clear echo of Isaiah 53:12 (καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν) in Hebrews 9:28 (τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας). Compare a similar use in I Peter 2:24, which adds ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, having reference to Christ's carrying our sins up to the cross and there doing away with them (cf. also Isaiah 53:6). A much more precious victim than that under the

[67] See B. F. Westcott, "On the Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews,* Macmillan, New York, 1914, p. 493; also his comments on Heb. 9:28.

[68] Moffatt, "Hebrews," *Int. Crit. Comm.,* Introd., p. xvi.

Levitical system was required, even the Messiah or Son of God whose superiority to angels, through whom the old law was given, the writer takes so much pains to exhibit. Christ was "to taste death on behalf of every man" (2:9). He was "to make propitiation for the sins of the people" (2:17), "to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (9:26), and "to bear away the sins of many" (9:28). In all of this we see the idea of the suffering Servant, although the author does not make use of the title παῖς nor definitely identify Jesus as the Servant.

3. Jesus' Life and Character. There are a few passages which describe Jesus' life and character in terms suggestive of the meek and lowly Servant. It was fitting that he "be made like unto his brethren, that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest" (2:17); he "was faithful to him that appointed him" (3:2); he is full of sympathy, can "be touched with the feeling of our infirmities" (4:15); he is "holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens" (7:26). Such in general was the suffering and exalted Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.

VI. In the Johannine Writings

The school of Christian thought which produced the Apocalypse, the Fourth Gospel, and the Johannine Epistles had its home in Asia Minor, with Ephesus as the center. Therefore this group of books is best described as the Ephesian Canonical Writings. John, the son of Zebedee, was probably not the author of any one of these books, unless it be the

Apocalypse. Ancient tradition, which is fairly unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the reign of Domitian (81-96 A. D.), is probably correct. Most scholars are agreed that the gospel cannot have been written before 90 A. D. or much after 110, though some would assign a later date to the appendix. The Epistles of John were probably written about the same time, or a little later, than the Fourth Gospel, and by the same author, probably some unknown disciple of John, the son of Zebedee. Some would call him "the greatest of Paul's disciples," who seeks to combine the values of the Synoptic record of the sayings and doings of Jesus with the Pauline Christology.[69]

1. *In the Apocalypse.* The derivation of the Apocalypse is so remote from the influence of Paul that even the doctrine of the suffering Servant scarcely appears. It is full of that earlier and simpler doctrine of the atonement which was certainly pre-Pauline and which was generally taught in churches little or not at all influenced by Paul. The doctrine that Christ "loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood" (1:5) appears in the opening verses, and the central theme of the book itself is the praise of the Lamb, a Lamb "as though it had been slain" (see 5:9; 12:11; 14:4, etc.). In these references we see the common, traditional metaphors, derived ultimately from the Jewish prophets. The fact, however, that the Greek word ἀρνίον is always used for "Lamb" in Revelation, whereas the word used in the

[69] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, p. 199.

LXX Isaiah is ἀμνός, would seem to indicate that the author has in mind the male "yearling of the flock" prescribed for the celebration of the Passover, the feast of redemption, rather than the mute lamb of the Isaian Song of the martyred Servant. But Swete (on Revelation 5:6) suggests that ἀρνίον may come from Jeremiah 11:19, or from a non-Septuagintal version of Isaiah.[70] Although the allusion may be to the paschal lamb, or generally to any sacrificial lamb, the expression "a lamb as it were slain" is probably based on Isaiah 53:7 interpreted in a Messianic sense. Compare John 1:29, 36 with Revelation 5:6, 9, 12; 13:8, etc., in the light of the picture of the lamb in Isaiah 53. Note in this connection that Revelation 7:16, 17 is based on the picture of the salvation which is to be brought in through the influence of the Servant according to Isaiah 49:9, 10. Perhaps the author of the Apocalypse regards the Lamb (Jesus) as fulfilling the picture, although it is vague and indefinite.[71]

As in I Peter, Hebrews, and I John, so here the death of Christ is presented as a means of purification from sin: he "loosed [λύω not λούω] us from our sins by his blood" (1:5), and the saints have "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (7:14, 22:14). He is "the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David," but he is also "a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain" (5:5, 6). He is "the Son of David, who became a passover victim [τὸ ἀρνίον]

[70] *The Apocalypse of St. John, ad loc.*, London, 1906.
[71] But see B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul*, p. 197.

that he might redeem the people of God"; and the numerous references to "the blood of the Lamb" take us back to the symbolism of the farewell passover, "the self-dedication to martyrdom in the cup of the new covenant." And so the designation "Lamb of God" is probably connected with the Passover (but cf. Isaiah 53:7), and is a symbol of obedient and self-denying love, issuing in vicarious sacrifice.

2. In the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel, which appeared about 95-110 A. D., came into favor later, not only on account of its profoundly spiritual interpretation of the meaning of Christ, but because it attempted to combine in one harmonious whole the divided elements of the Christologies which had thus far been current. But we see the transition from the simpler Christology of the early days, as recorded in First Acts, practically completed. The doctrine of the Servant appears scarcely at all, but instead, the idea of the Sonship, which in Paul is carefully subordinated to a strict monotheism, is accepted in its full extent. "In the generation succeeding Paul the 'Son of God' had gradually assumed the more definite meaning which the Greek language and forms of thought attached to it. The Fourth Evangelist employs it deliberately in the sense which it would convey to the ordinary Greek mind. Jesus as the Son was Himself of the same nature as the Father. All the divine powers and attributes devolved on Him in virtue of His inherent birthright as Son of God."[72] Christ is a heavenly being, different in kind from

[72] E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel,* p. 194.

men. He shared the glory of the Father before the world was, and by his own act entered the world as man. The author of this Gospel values, as Paul did not, the life lived in the flesh; but he did not think of it as a *kenosis* or humiliation, though it was a condescension. He sees the glory of the exalted Christ resting upon the earthly life, and the disciples of Jesus recognize him as Messiah from the very beginning. Jesus is the Messiah, who fulfilled, and will fulfill, the hopes of his nation, as he rightly interpreted them, but in striking contrast to the popular Messianism of the time. But the Messianic title and office are absorbed and lost in the author's larger and higher view of the eternal "Son of God." One can see at once why there would not be much place in this Gospel for the idea of the meek and lowly Servant, "despised and rejected of men."

But in the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel Jesus is pointed out by the Baptist to his disciples as "the Lamb [ἀμνός] of God, that taketh away ['beareth,' αἴρων] the sin of the world" (1:29, 36). Evidently some lamb well-known to John's hearers is meant, more than likely the lamb (ἀμνός) of the Isaian Servant Song (53:7); but there may be an indirect allusion to the Paschal Lamb. The words, "that taketh away the sin of the world," seem to make the reference to Isaiah 53 probable, especially to verses 4, 5, 10. In Isaiah 53:4 (οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει), and in 53:12, the word used in the LXX is φέρειν, not αἴρειν, as in John; and in the LXX regularly φέρειν, not αἴρειν, is used to express the "bearing" of sin. "But a lamb can remove sin

only by sacrificially bearing it, so that here αἴρειν includes and implies φέρειν."[73] But most modern scholars would not accept these words as the actual words of the Baptist. According to the undoubted testimony of the Synoptists neither the Baptist nor any other of the disciples saw in Jesus from the beginning a suffering and dying Messiah, and even when Jesus late in his ministry began to foretell his death, none of his disciples understood the unwelcome announcement. Consequently we must take John 1:29, 36 as the evangelist's idealization of the Baptist's testimony, a reading back into the record what the disciples began to see much later. The old image of Isaiah 53 had passed into the traditional church formula by the time the Fourth Gospel was written.

Referring to those who refuse to believe in Jesus, notwithstanding the signs he has done among them, the author of John's Gospel says that they believed not on him, "that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" (12:38; cf. Romans 10:16). The Hebrew, LXX, John, and Romans, all agree, except that the Hebrew does not have "Lord," and Romans has only the first clause. John quotes the declaration as fulfilled in the Jew's unbelief towards Jesus, the true "Servant of the Lord," the "our report" referring to the preaching of Jesus. There is a close historical parallelism and spiritual fulfilment, but not a literal historical prediction. After quoting in a similar way Isaiah 6:10, our

[73] Cf. Marcus Dods, *Exp. Gr. Test., ad loc.*

evangelist writes: "These things said Isaiah, because he saw his glory; and he spake of him" (12:41). His view is that Christ's glory was revealed to Isaiah, and therefore he spoke of it. Plummer says: "The glory of the Son before the Incarnation, when He was 'in the form of God' (Phil. 2:6), is to be understood."[74] But Toy is giving a truer grammatico-historical interpretation when he says: "Isaiah 'saw his glory' (John 12:41) in the form of a vision of a perfect servant of God, suffering, teaching, and saving; but the Old Testament text does not lead us to suppose that the prophet had before him any definite, historical shape of an individual man to appear in the far future."[75] At any rate, the Fourth Evangelist regards Isaiah 53 as Messianic and sees in Jesus the Isaian Servant. Compare 5:39 for the testimony of Jesus in regard to the Messianic element in the Scriptures: "and these are they which bear witness of me." This expression put into the mouth of Jesus needs to be interpreted in the light of 12:38, 41.

There may be something of the idea of the suffering and dying Servant in the saying about the grain of wheat falling into the earth (12:24), and about one losing his life (12:25), but, if so, it is more the idea of exaltation than that of humiliation; for it is a means to the glorification of the Son of man (12:23). The title "Son of man" (occurring in twelve passages) may in some cases lay stress on the

[74] "The Gospel According to St. John," *Cambridge Bible, ad loc.*

[75] *Quotations in the New Testament*, pp. 88, 89.

weakness, humility, and obscurity of his earthly manifestation, but that is doubtful. As to the three instances which refer to the lifting up of Christ (3:14; 8:28; 12:32), the "lifting up" in the last case (12:32) most certainly involves not the crucifixion alone but the crucifixion as preliminary to power and glory, and more than likely that is the meaning in the other two cases.

3. In the Epistles of John. Not only is there no reference to the "Servant Songs" in I John, but there is no direct allusion to the Old Testament at all. But the explicit connection of the death of Christ with sin is more prominent than in the Fourth Gospel, and it is here we shall find reminiscences of the suffering Servant if at all.

"The blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1:7). "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation [ἱλασμός] for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world" (2:1, 2). Jesus is called "the righteous" (δίκαιον). This indicates his sinlessness and may be a reminiscence of "my righteous [δίκαιον] servant" in Isaiah 53:11 (cf. "the Holy and Righteous One" of Acts 3:14, in connection with "thy holy [ἅγιος] Servant Jesus" of Acts 4:27, 30). The word for "propitiation" (ἱλασμός) occurs nowhere in the New Testament but here and in 4:10; and in both places without the article and followed by "for our sins" (περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτίων ἡμῶν). "It signifies any action which has *expiation* as its object, whether prayer, compensation,

or sacrifice."[76] "And we know that he was manifested to take away ['bear,' ἄρῃ] sins; and in him is no sin" (3:5). The sinlessness of Christ is emphasized. To "take away" sins is not the same as bearing them (but cf. John 1:29; I Peter 2:24). "Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren" (3:16). The writer holds up the sacrifice of Christ for us as an example, that we "should follow his steps" (cf. I Peter 2:21-25).

The verses quoted above show some of the ideas connected with the doctrine of the Servant, but direct quotations or allusions to the Servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah we do not find. The writer has advanced far beyond the time, and away from the school of thought, which knew the simple Christology of the "Servant of God." To him Jesus is the Christ the "Son of God." One commentator[77] even insists that "without hesitation" he calls Jesus Christ "the true God" in 5:20.

[76] Plummer, *The Cambridge Bible, ad loc.*

[77] J. Weiss, *Christ: The Beginnings of Dogma,* London, 1911, pp. 151, 152.

IV

THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND EXTRA-CANONICAL FRAGMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

There is extant a rather long, heterogeneous list of extra-canonical books and fragments which we call the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the New Testament. They differ a great deal in their value, but very few have been found so far to be of much worth to the student of the New Testament and the early Christian literature. A great many of them were brought out or sponsored by various heretical sects. Almost every one of the apostles had a "gospel" fathered upon him by one early sect or another, if we may judge from the list of books condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, and from other patristic allusions. And then various "Acts" of the apostles have survived, at least in part—for instance, the Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, Philip, etc. Most of these writings arose at least as late as the second or third century.

1. Servant Doctrine Confined to Petrine Tradition

I have examined carefully this apocryphal literature of the New Testament but have not been able to find any traces of the Servant-idea except in those writings connected in some way with the name of Peter, and here practically the only passage worth noting is found in the so-called Preaching of Peter

(κήρυγμα Πέτρου). This is significant. It confirms the evidence given heretofore in support of the view that the origin of the doctrine as applied to Jesus was due primarily to Peter, and is prominent mainly in the Lukan-Petrine sources. It also supports the fact already observed that the Servant-doctrine largely drops out of Christian thought and literature at an early period.

The non-canonical writings ascribed to Peter are five in number. Eusebius,[1] after mentioning the two Epistles of Peter which have a place in the Canon, proceeds to speak of other writings connected with Peter's name—the Acts of Peter, the Gospel according to Peter, the Preaching of Peter, and the Apocalypse. These, he adds, "we do not acknowledge as handed down to us among the Catholic writings, for no church writer, either in ancient times, or in our own, ever made use of the testimonies they supply." To this list Jerome (*de Virr. Illustr.* 1) adds the Judicium.

II. Preaching of Peter

The Preaching of Peter is the earliest of our uncanonical Petrine sources. Zahn puts the date of the writing in the period 90-100 A. D.; Harnack, 110-130 (140) A. D. It is about contemporary with our canonical Book of Acts, and it is manifestly dominated by the same conception of the suffering Servant as predicted in the Scriptures.

The awakening of the Twelve to the truth of the Resurrection is related in the κήρυγμα as follows:

[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, iii.

But we, opening the books of the prophets which we had, found them naming Jesus as the Christ, sometimes in parables, sometimes in riddles, sometimes openly and literally, both his coming and his death, and the cross, and all the other sufferings which the Jews inflicted on him, and his rising again and his assumption into heaven before the judgment on Jerusalem, just as all these things had been written which it was needful for him to suffer, and the things which are to ensue afterward (ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται). Accordingly when we had understood these things we believed in God through the things which had been written regarding him" (*Strom.* 15.148).

In Luke's Gospel (24:25, 26) we have nearly the same idea, where Jesus, appearing to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, chides them for their unbelief and slowness of heart "to believe in all that the prophets have spoken. Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (cf. I Peter 1:10, 11).

What appears in the Preaching of Peter is doubtless among the earliest attempts briefly to state what the apostles preached, and the repeated appeal to Scripture proof would point to an early date, and the general tone of the writing bears resemblance to the earlier chapters of Acts. Seven sermons of Peter are given in brief outline in the Acts, and in many aspects they too show resemblance to the κήρυγμα. But literary dependence cannot with certainty be affirmed. J. N. Reagan says, "Proximately and directly, the principal source (of the K. P.) was Jew-

ish-Hellenic thought, Christianized and restated on the basis of Petrine tradition."[2] As we have seen, it is in this Petrine tradition that we find the Servant-doctrine prominent. In the special source of Luke, whose central figure even in the Gospel is Peter, much as in the opening chapters of Acts, we find a continual dwelling upon the Isaian prediction of the sufferings of the Servant.

III. Gospel of Peter

The Gospel of Peter (about 150 A. D.) gives us the earliest uncanonical account of the Passion that exists. It throws doubt on the reality of the Lord's sufferings, and in consequence upon the reality of his human body. In other words, it is, as Serapion of Antioch indicated, of a Docetic character. For instance, of Jesus on the cross, we read: "But he kept silence, as one feeling no pain" (Fragment I, iv, 11; cf. Isaiah 53:7). This shows one of the influences which helped to bring about the neglect of the doctrine of the suffering Servant.

IV. Acts of Peter

In the Acts of Peter (XXIV), in an argument with Simon Magus about the birth and crucifixion of Christ, Peter said: "Anathema upon thy words against (*or* in) Christ! Presumest thou to speak thus, whereas the prophet saith of him: Who shall declare his generation? And another prophet saith: And we saw him and he had no beauty nor comeliness." But Peter in the same section calls Jesus "my Lord Jesus Christ" and not "the Servant."

[2] *The Preaching of Peter: The Beginning of Christian Apologetic*, 1923.

V

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

1. The Title Παῖς Rare

As we have seen, the definite title παῖς Θεοῦ is very rare in the New Testament, being found only four times in Acts 3 and 4, and in Matthew 12:18 in a quotation borrowed from Isaiah 42:1-4. The use of this title in application to Jesus has been found to be very primitive, belonging to the Jewish-Christian community, and, as will appear, was usually connected with some liturgical formula. Thus it is found in the prayers of the early Christians following the deliverance of Peter and John from prison (4:27, 30), "against thy holy Servant Jesus" and "through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus"; in the prayers of I Clement 59:2, 3, 4 (διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, etc.); and in the prayers of the Lord's Supper of the Didache 9 and 10 (διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου); and in the prayers of Polycarp in the *Martyrdom,* phrases perhaps attached to the primitive Christian liturgy itself, 14:1, 3; cf. 20:2 (ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός σου). The title appears in two Christian interpolated Old Testament passages in Barnabas (6:1; 9:2). Compare the Epistle to Diognetus 8:9, 11; 9:1. Moreover, in the Bishop's prayer in the eighth book of the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* the closing doxology reads, διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. Compare in addition the *Epitome:* διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and the

Latin text, the so-called Egyptian church ritual, *per puerum tuum Jesum Christum* (ed. Hauler, pp. 104 f.). It has been suggested that we have here the church ritual of Hippolytus. Compare Hippolytus *Against Noetus* 5: "And there is no one who sees God except the Son (ὁ παῖς) alone, the perfect man who alone declares the will of the Father" (ed. Lagarde 47:20; cf. 49:8, 10; 51:15). Celsus knows Christian prophets who, when in ecstasy, proclaim: ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός εἰμι ἢ Θεοῦ παῖς ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον.[1]

Apart from the use of the definite title παῖς Θεοῦ as a designation of Jesus Christ,[2] the Apostolic and Ante-Nicene Fathers refer again and again to the Servant poems of Deutero-Isaiah, many times quoting verses, especially Isaiah 53, and making the definite and unquestioned application of the passages to Jesus. The practice of going to the Old Testament for explanation of the death of Jesus and for proof of his messiahship, despite his shameful death, was begun by Peter and the early apostles, and it was continued throughout this whole period.[3] To study carefully all the quotations and references in the Fathers would carry us too far afield and is unnecessary for the present purpose, since there is much similarity in usage and method of quotation and application; but a few representative passages from the early Fathers will bring clearly before us the usual interpretation and application.

[1] *Origen against Celsus,* VII, 9.

[2] For an excellent discussion of the use of the title, with references, see Bousset, *Kyrios Christos,* pp. 68 f., 82-90; also Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes,'" Berlin Academy, xxv-xxviii, 1926, pp. 212-238.

[3] Cf. especially Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho.*

II. First Clement
(circa 95 A. D.)

In 59:2, in warnings to the dissidents, Clement says: "And we will ask, with instancy of prayer and supplication, . . . διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." In a prayer to God: "Who multipliest the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου, through whom Thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honor us" (59:4), "Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is ὁ παῖς σου, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture" (59:4). In these three passages Lightfoot renders παῖς as "son" in each case; Kirsopp Lake, "child." Perhaps it should be rendered "servant," but we cannot be sure. In 39:4 God is spoken of as being "distrustful against His servants" (παίδων αὐτοῦ).

In I Clement 16:3-17, Christ is set before us as the humble and self-denying Servant (as in Isaiah 53). Christ, Clement says, "was humble-minded, as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. For it says"—and there follows Isaiah 53:1-12, given from the LXX, with but a slight change in two or three words. "And again he says himself," and then follows Psalm 22:6-8 quoted. Clement's purpose in introducing these quotations is to give an example of lowliness and humility as exhibited in the life of Christ. "You see, Beloved, what is the example which is given to us; for if the Lord was thus humble-minded, what shall we do, who through him have

come under the yoke of his grace?" (I Corinthians 16: 17). Jesus Christ is definitely identified with the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah by I Clement.

III. Didache
(100-150 A. D.)

The use of παῖς σου, which is equivalent to παῖς Θεοῦ, to designate Christ in the Didache is interesting and significant, as we have seen already. In this respect the Didache shows its kinship to I Clement (59: 2, 3, 4). The word υἱός is used of Christ only twice, and both times in the baptismal formula (chap. 7). But παῖς is used five times (7: 1, 3; 9: 2, 3; 10: 2, 3). Chapters 9 and 10 contain a brief eucharistic liturgy; and in the prayers the formula "through Jesus thy Servant" (διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου) occurs three times, and "through thy Servant" (διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου), in reference to Jesus, once. This is the primitive, liturgical usage to which we have referred above. The use of the less exalted word shows the primitive character of the Christology, which emphasizes more distinctly the subordinate position of Christ and the supremacy of God.

IV. Ignatius to Polycarp
(110-117 A. D.)

In I. 2, 3, Ignatius says: "Help all men, as the Lord also helps you . . . 'Bear the sicknesses' [τὰς νόσους βάσταζε] of all as a perfect athlete" (cf. Matthew 8: 17). The idea is found in Isaiah 53: 4; but it is probable that Ignatius borrows from Matthew and not directly from the Old Testament, for

the LXX reading is different (οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει). Ignatius, however, translates the Hebrew correctly, and the possibility that he is using a translation other than the LXX cannot be excluded. The idea of vicarious suffering is found in Trallians 2:1: "He died for us, in order that you believing might escape dying" (cf. I Corinthians 15:3).

v. Polycarp
(martyred 155 A. D.)

In his epistle to the Philippians (8:1), Polycarp says: "Let us then persevere unceasingly in our hope, and in the pledge of our righteousness, that is in Christ Jesus, 'who bare our sins in his own body on the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth' [cf. I Peter 2:21, on which Polycarp is dependent, but I Peter is founded on Isaiah 53:9], but for our sakes, that we might live in him, he endured all things." This passage, with its context, reflects the thought of I Peter 2:21-25, presenting the sufferings and death of Christ as an example to be imitated (8:2).

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp (14:1, 3; 20:2), παῖς occurs three times as a title applied to Christ, and in each case it is found in a prayer: "Father of thy beloved and blessed παιδός Jesus Christ" (14:1); "Jesus Christ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός (14:3); "by His only begotten παιδός, Jesus Christ" (20:2). As has been said, Kirsopp Lake translates παῖς "child" in these passages. The use of the word "Father" would seem to indicate that

the idea of "son" or "child" is more prominent in the word than "servant."

VI. The Epistle of Barnabas (circa 130 A. D.)

In the Epistle of Barnabas much use is made of the Servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah, and they are applied very definitely to Christ, although when Isaiah 53:5, 7 is quoted the author says by way of introduction: "the scripture concerning him relates partly to Israel, partly to us" (5:2). Indeed, the mind of the author of this epistle seems to be permeated with the thought of the Servant poems. In addition to the above, Barnabas quotes Isaiah 42:6, 7; 49:6, 7; 50:6, 7 (twice), 8, 9, 10; 61:1, 2 (Barnabas 14:7, 8, 9; 9:2; 5:13; 6:1, 3). He also makes use of Wisdom 2:12 (6:7). These passages are employed in giving "The Reason for the Passion of Christ" (V), "Proofs [of the Passion] from the Prophets" (VI), and "The Fulfilment of the Promise to the Jews" (XIV). The writer takes the usual patristic view in regard to Messianic prophecy: "Since therefore he was destined to be manifest and to suffer in the flesh his Passion was foretold" (6:7). He seeks to maintain the majesty of Christ; but the humiliation and suffering are a standing objection to his exaltation. Therefore he declares that there is nothing in Christ which calls for suffering, but the ground for his suffering is found in his relation to the sin of men. Christ suffered and died "that we should be sanctified by the remission of sin" (5:1). "The Son of God," says he, "could not

suffer save on our behalf" (c. 7). The idea of substitution seems manifest in 8: 1, 2.[4] We see here the beginning of the trend toward the higher Christology and away from the emphasis on the human life of Jesus.

VII. HERMAS
(140 A. D.)

Another step in this developing Christology is apparent in Hermas. The incarnate Son is in a state of humiliation. This is set forth most strikingly in Similitude V, by the parable of the "Estate and Vineyard." The estate is the world; the servant (slave) is the Son of God. But his earthly work manifestly has an aspect of power and majesty: for as a reward God chose the "flesh," *i.e.* Jesus, "as a partner with the Holy Spirit"; and the humiliation and sufferings may be regarded as "the work of his free love, as the means of taking away our sins, and as the point of passage to higher perfection."[5] Hermas is evidently trying to combine Paul's doctrine of "the holy pre-existent Spirit which created the whole creation" (Similitude 5:6), with that of the suffering and exalted Servant. "It was not easy for unphilosophic minds to combine in one harmonious picture the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience; and even in philosophic interpretations this contrast had much to do with the rise and widespread of Gnosticism in the second century."[6] Gnos-

[4] Cf. A. R. Stark, *The Christology in the Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 49, 50.
[5] Cf. Dorner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, i, 131.
[6] Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, p. 39.

ticism, which was at its greatest height about 135-160 A. D., led some to deny Christ's real humanity and his actual death. This in turn led to the dropping out of the Servant doctrine and the development of the higher Christology.

VIII. Epistle to Diognetus (150-200 A. D.)

Three times in the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus the title παῖς is applied to Christ (8:9, 11, 9:1). Kirsopp Lake translates "child"; and Lightfoot "son." The idea of sonship is becoming more prominent in the word. "He comunicated it to His child alone" (8:9, μόνῳ τῷ παιδί; Latin, *cum solo filio*); "but when He revealed it through His beloved child" (8:11, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός; Latin, *per dilectum filium);* "Having thus planned everything by Himself with His child" (9:1, σὺν τῷ παιδί). The writer calls Christ "the one righteous man," "the holy" (9:5, 9). The highest conception that Christ reveals to men is love, the love of God in giving His Son a ransom, the holy for the lawless. All of the above passages show the undoubted influence of the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant.

IX. Claudius Apollinarius (circa 170 A. D.)

In a quotation from Apollinarius in The Paschal Chronicle we find the title παῖς Θεοῦ used in application to Jesus. The Paschal Chronicle is a Paschal computation, that is, a rule for the celebration of the Passover. The Preface repeats over and over again that

Jesus Christ, being the True Passover, was slain on the day when the Jews usually slew their passover, namely, the fourteenth. The inference the author draws is that Christ could not have eaten the legal passover before he suffered. He quotes several early authors as testifying in his favor, among them Claudius Apollinarius (170 A. D.), Bishop of Hierapolis, as follows: "The fourteenth is the true Passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, the Son (Servant) of God in the place of the lamb" (ἡ ιδ' τὸ ἀληθινὸν τοῦ Κυρίου Πάσχα, ἡ θυσία ἡ μεγάλη, ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ παῖς Θεοῦ).[7]

X. Conclusions

The study of the above references, and the passages from the Apostolic Fathers, are sufficient to show two things: (1) that the title παῖς Θεοῦ is primitive, and is rare even in early Christian literature, and when found is nearly always in prayers, as though it were a stereotyped liturgical formula; and (2) that the use of the title seems to be limited mainly to Jewish-Christian influence, possibly being adapted from some Jewish original. Compare the use of the term "my servant Messiah" in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 70:9, a Jewish writing assigned to the first Christian century.[8] F. H. Chase says: "Hence it seems probable that it was characteristic of Jewish prayers, that thence it passed into the primitive vocabulary of the Church, and that, having liturgical associations, it long maintained its

[7] See A. H. Charteris, *Canonicity*, for the full quotation.

[8] Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i, p. 185, note 4; also his *Date of Acts and Synoptic Gospels*, p. 106.

place in Christian prayers, though now it received a higher doctrinal connotation."[9]

This "higher doctrinal connotation" seems to have been one of the influences which led to the gradual dropping out of the title "Servant" in favor of the less ambiguous and more theological "Son." We have seen that παῖς and υἱός are used interchangeably in the Wisdom of Solomon. Another step in the development would be the variation from παῖς to υἱός in the Voice at the Baptism as recorded in Mark 1:11, when the text of Psalm 2:7 is combined with Isaiah 42:1.[10] In Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30, παῖς is used in the sense of "servant" in application to Jesus. Similarly in the Didache (9 and 10) the comparison with David seems to make the translation "servant" far more appropriate than "son." In I Clement (59: 2, 3, 4), however, the title is fuller, διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός, but this could equally well be referred to the thought of "servant" (cf. Matthew 12:18) or to that of "son" (cf. Matthew 3:17; Ephesians 1:6; Colossians 1:13), and there is nothing in the context to help us decide between these alternative renderings. But the language of the prayer in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (14:1), "O Lord God Almighty, *Father* of Thy beloved and blessed child [παιδός] Jesus Christ," shows that the idea of Son was probably by this time the most prominent in the word,[11] and when the Latin trans-

[9] Hastings' *D. B.*, art. "Peter (Simon)," p. 766. Cf. Lock, *The Expositor*, Ser. IV, iv, 178 f.; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 226 ff.

[10] Cf. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 69.

[11] Kirsopp Lake says: "Here it is clearly child."

lation of Irenaeus was made, παῖς was regularly represented by *filius* (cf. Irenaeus III, xii, 5, 6). And so the word παῖς as applied to Jesus was gradually misunderstood and supplanted by words like υἱὸς and λόγος which were more in keeping with the higher Christology and the developing theology of the big Gentile world.

VI

CONCLUSION

1. The Use Made of the Old Testament Scriptures by the New Testament Writers

There are, all told, in the New Testament, approximately three hundred direct quotations from the Old Testament. These quotations are not usually exact translations of the Hebrew; the majority of them are drawn from the Septuagint and follow this where it agrees with the original and also where it departs from it. Less frequently they adhere to the Hebrew and abandon the Septuagint. In some instances, finally, they abandon both as far as mere language is concerned. These writers exercise great freedom in making quotations from the Old Testament, although usually they follow the Greek version.

This free manner of citing Old Testament passages was due to several causes: (1) the habit of quoting from memory, a consequence of the rareness of books; (2) the fresh enthusiasm and earnestness of the writers, and their relation to the Old Testament; and (3) their hermeneutical principles.[1] In the ordinary processes of thinking these New Testament writers were men of their time, and they were influenced largely by the Rabbinical methods of exegesis and interpretation. They had a profound reverence for the Scriptures, but their method of studying them was unscientific and unhistorical.

[1] Cf. C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, Introduction, pp. ix-xxxvii, 1881.

"The New Testament method is the same in general as that of the Talmud," says Toy, "only far more cautious and reserved, a result that is due to the greater dignity and living power of its subject matter." The critical opinions of the New Testament writers were undoubtedly those of the Jews of the time. We know that the New Testament accepts the current opinion of the time as to the authorship of the various Hebrew books. Even Jesus himself seems to have been limited to some extent to the methods of his age. And yet both for Jesus and for the New Testament writers we must bear in mind certain general, guiding principles which were adopted in their use of the Old Testament. These principles help us more in understanding the true sense in which quotations are used than a minute study of formulas. Each particular quotation and formula, however, must be studied separately and in connection with its own context.

L. M. Sweet, in an article on "New Testament Quotations" in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* enumerates these three principles and gives an able discussion of each: (1) Unity of the two dispensations: the New Testament writers regard the Christian religion as having its roots in the Old Testament. (2) Biblical movement planned from the beginning: the movement from Abraham to Christ was not only organically one, but it was planned and prepared for from the beginning. The prevision of events in the life of Jesus and in the history of Christianity is involved in all the quotations in which a *necessary* connection is asserted be-

tween the passage as predictive and the event, or in which a prophet is said to have been speaking or writing concerning the event or person in question. An illustration of this principle is found in the use made of the great Servant passages of Deutero-Isaiah. The Servant originally and historically was Israel, but the full realization of the great ideal came only in Jesus of Nazareth. The only satisfactory interpretation of the tragedy is that in accordance with the principles long operative in human history "it must needs be." The only satisfactory interpretation of the passages cited from the Old Testament bearing on this subject is that they disclose the actual operation of forces which in their culmination issued in the tragedy of the cross. This brings the passages in the original and in quotation into the framework of the same course of events. Peter in his sermon in Solomon's Porch thus sums up the whole process: "But the things which God foreshowed by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled" (Acts 3:18). (3) A third principle, which really involves a combination of the other two and is prominently brought forward in the use of quotation for purposes of argument, is the recognition and acceptance of the Old Testament as authoritative, a real word of God, in form occasional, but essentially applicable to all experiences, and hence good for all time. A clear-cut distinction, however, is drawn between the temporary and permanent offices of the Old Testament. It is recognized that in essential principles the Old Testament is for all time, while in its outward form and in its actualization of

underlying and essential truths it is preliminary and preparatory.

With the above principles in mind, consider the influence of the Messianic idea. All the important events of Jesus' life, the early Christians believed, were predicted in the Old Testament Scriptures. Besides the predictions of a kingly leader, all those passages that describe the sufferings of God's saints, those that contain names and expressions connected with the life of Jesus, all that in any way recalled the experiences or words of the Master, would naturally be regarded as prophetic delineations of him and his work. There was no attempt to fix with precision the historical sense of the passage quoted.

The "grammatico-historical" method of interpretation has been developed within the last two centuries, but it is accepted universally in the field of real scholarship. Any interpretation of Scripture to stand must at least make the claim to represent the real meaning of the authors, considered as addressing their own contemporaries.[2] But this method must not be used in a too narrow and mechanical sense, else the values and fruits of progressive revelation may be ignored. Great eternal principles may be embodied in past events and persons, but may not be fully understood or realized except in the light of the fuller revelation of history. The New Testament writers, although apparently limited by their view of predictive prophecy, can yet give us perspective and may lead the critic to see the dangers of his narrow and mechanical method.

[2] For an excellent discussion of the whole question, see Kemper Fullerton, *Prophecy and Authority*, New York, 1919.

In the body of this work I have made a study of the quotations in the New Testament from the Servant-passages of Deutero-Isaiah, but, in this connection, it will be interesting and instructive to note the large percentage of quotations from Isaiah in comparison with the rest of the Old Testament books. The New Testament writers quote from the book of Isaiah much more than from any other prophetical book; and, in fact, more than from any other Old Testament book. For instance, in Dittmar's *Vetus Testamentum in Novo,* in his "Parallelen-Verzeichnis" (pp. 285-362), there are ten pages given to citations from Isaiah, and five of these from Deutero-Isaiah; whereas, for the book of the Psalms, the one nearest to Isaiah in space given, there are only eight and a half pages. Genesis has six pages; Exodus five; and Deuteronomy nearly five pages. Jeremiah has only a little over three pages. The New Testament writers, as well as the early Christians in Acts, turned to the so-called great "evangelical prophet," Isaiah, more than to any other Scripture, for light on the life and mission of Jesus and for instruction in regard to the whole Christian movement. And they found in Deutero-Isaiah, and in the Servant poems especially, delineations of Jesus and explanations in regard to his sufferings and death.

II. The Real Sense in Which Fulfilment is Found in Jesus

In the New Testament the doctrine of the Servant is applied to Jesus of Nazareth. Not only does the general idea find its fulfilment in Jesus, but particu-

lar details in the character and work of Jesus are regarded as definite fulfilments of certain words spoken of the suffering Servant; *e.g.* Isaiah 53:4 finds fulfilment in the fact that Jesus healed the bodies of men. Were the New Testament writers correct in their interpretation and application? And if they were correct according to modern scientific inquiry, in what sense is fulfilment found in Jesus of Nazareth?

The question put by modern historical exegesis is of this nature: What subject had the prophet present to his own mind when speaking of the Servant in Isaiah 40-55? Modern interpreters give various answers to this question, but in the main they say the subject was the nation Israel. The meaning to the prophet and to his contemporaries was limited to Israel in Exile and in the restoration from Exile. These Servant passages are not directly Messianic, and were not so understood either by the prophet or his contemporaries. No personal Messiah, and certainly not Jesus of Nazareth, was clearly seen as fulfilling the idea in the distant future. From this strict historical standpoint, A. B. Davidson is right when he says "the horizon of Deutero-Isaiah is bounded by the restoration of Israel from Exile."[8]

But the question as put by early Christian expositors, as well as by earnest Christian interpreters to-day, takes in the main this form: In whom have the features of the Servant in these chapters been seen in fact? The unanimous answer to this question must be: In the Christian Messiah. To quote A. B.

[8] *Old Testament Prophecy*, 1912.

Davidson again: "This answer is not one based merely on the authority of the New Testament, and its application of several passages of these prophecies to Christ; it is an answer which any reader of the history of our Lord, who considers his spirit and methods and work, must give on his own judgment; it was the answer which Christ's own consciousness gave, as when he read chapter 61 before the people in the synagogue, and the answer given by his contemporaries."

The figure of the Servant of Yahweh was not definitely Messianic in the strict and narrow sense of the word. The Davidic king is the chief Messianic figure in the Old Testament period, and during this period the suffering Servant was never identified with the Davidic king. And yet these two figures, the Davidic king and the suffering Servant, supply the chief contents of the idea of the Christian Messiah. Thus, as Delitzsch remarks, the Servant of Yahweh, though strictly not a Messianic figure at all in the narrower sense, contributes more elements, and those of the profoundest kind, to the Christological conception realized in our Lord than all other figures put together. Among these deeper conceptions appear such as that of atonement for sin through the suffering of the guiltless and the idea that the highest glory is the reward of him who loses his life for others (Isaiah 53: 12). The Servant poems belong to what we call the "indirectly Messianic passages." These are passages in which the writer had some Old Testament officer or personage in his mind, but spoke of him according to the idea of his office or function

or character; and this ideal is transferred to Christ in the New Testament as being actually realized only in him. Such passages are sometimes called typically Messianic, the idea being that what was said by Old Testament writers, with Old Testament subjects in mind, may only find its true fulfilment in Christ.

Something of the true idea of fulfilment may be found in Willis J. Beecher's suggestion in regard to "manifold fulfilment."[4] It is not correct to think of double meanings or equivocal sense for the prophet's message, but a prophetic promise or picture may have manifold application or manifold fulfilment. According to this view the prophetic messages are not sporadic, but parts of a connected doctrine concerning the workings of a Deity whose plans are represented as extending through the ages. The vision of Deutero-Isaiah had to do primarily with the nation Israel, but the fulfilment in the actual Israel was very partial and incomplete; the full realization came only in Jesus of Nazareth, in whom was embodied the flower and fruitage of the best of Israel the nation. The great prophet of the Exile in a sense spoke better than he knew.

There are two one-sided views in answer to the question: Who is the Servant spoken of in these chapters in Isaiah? One interpretation replies that the Servant clearly is the people of Israel, and therefore is not Jesus of Nazareth. The other view affirms that the Servant is Jesus Christ, and therefore is not Israel. The truth is, that both interpretations are correct in what they affirm, and incorrect in

[4] *The Prophets and the Promise*, pp. 129 ff.

what they deny. The Servant is Israel thought of as "the promise-people," Israel in all the fulness of his mission to the world, and not in some relatively narrow and circumscribed portion of it. Historically the prophet had in mind the nation Israel, and historically the partial fulfilment has been realized in Israel through his sufferings and service to the world, but the fulfilment in this strict sense has been very incomplete. But the career of Israel the Servant includes all the beneficent things that God has wrought through him, including God's supreme manifestation through him in the person of Jesus Christ. If the New Testament writers are correct in regarding Jesus as pre-eminently the representative Israelite, as the antitype of all types, then they are correct in applying directly to him what the prophet says concerning Israel the Servant. It cannot be doubted that, as Christendom from the beginning has seen, the character of the suffering Servant as delineated in Deutero-Isaiah was fully realized only by Jesus of Nazareth. As we have seen, the figure itself is constructed upon the basis of the historic Israel and exhibits, in their ideal delicacy and completeness, the most characteristic attributes of the nation. But it is just these attributes which were also realized in their fulness and perfection by Jesus Christ. In Christ the genius of Israel found its fullest and most intense expression: the character imperfectly realized either by the nation as a whole, or by the best of its individual members, was exhibited in its completeness by him. The work and office of Christ as teacher, as prophet, as example, as sacrifice, exhibit the con-

summation of what was achieved imperfectly and partially by Israel.[5]

Therefore the thought of the great prophet of the Exile is not exhausted by the return and restoration of the people Israel and the great service rendered to the world by this misunderstood, rejected, and suffering Servant of God. In the New Testament the application to Jesus of Nazareth is correctly made—although in many cases by, or in connection with, a method of interpretation that cannot be called legitimate by the modern historical critic—for the full realization of this whole prophetic picture can be found only in Jesus Christ. The great miracle is Jesus himself as the fulfilment of the essential prophetic thought; it is not that this or that event of his life should have been literally predicted. Christianity is the complement and consummation of the best in Israel; and the highest revelation in the Old Testament, the great idea of the suffering Servant, comes to flower and fruitage in the greatest Servant of all, the One called Jesus.

III. The Prominence of the Doctrine Due Largely to the Petrine Influence

As the very foundation-stone of Christian faith we may set down the doctrine of the Servant: the love of Christ in his sacrificial death "for the many"; his intercession for sinners at the right hand of God. Historically this is undoubtedly doctrine derived from the Petrine influence. "It is the embodiment

[5] See S. R. Driver, *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, 1888, pp. 175-180.

of the religious experience of the chief Apostle, the establisher of the brethren in the resurrection faith. We have it on the explicit witness of Paul, challenging denial from Peter or from any of Peter's way of thinking."[6]

1. Does the Doctrine Go Back to Jesus Himself? We have some evidence to the effect that this Servant doctrine goes back to Jesus himself. Certainly the great idea of Deutero-Isaiah finds its embodiment in Jesus of Nazareth. It must have appealed very much to the heart of Jesus, and probably he applied it directly to himself.[7] The baptism vision, his words in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4: 16-30), his last message to John the Baptist, the repeated predictions of his death, and his words at the farewell Supper, would seem to indicate this. His attitude in his temptations, and the spirit and deeds of his whole life, would seem to indicate that the doctrine of the suffering Servant formed the basis for his own personal ideal for his life and mission.

2. Early Disciples' Appeal to Scripture in Explanation of the Death of Jesus. But clearly the early disciples went back to the Servant passages to find an explanation of the shameful death of Jesus. The life and death of Jesus helped them to see his portraiture in Deutero-Isaiah. Peter was the establisher of his brethren after the great tragedy, and he was the leader in the early days as pictured to us in First Acts. Perhaps Peter heard Isaiah 53 read in the

[6] B. W. Bacon, *The Apostolic Message,* 1925, p. 186.

[7] But cf. B. W. Bacon, *op. cit.,* pp. 214-15, where strong argument is advanced against the writers' view.

synagogue on the first Sabbath after the crucifixion as it still reads in the Aramaic targum. According to Acts, a few days later he was appealing to the Scriptures with a new and surprising insight in explanation of the death of Jesus, and the Servant passages came naturally to mind in showing that it thus "behooved the Christ to suffer."

The New Testament writers approach the story of Jesus, particularly the story of the cross, from the viewpoint of the Servant prophecies. In our earliest and most unquestioned sources, the Pauline Epistles, we find a clear and positive affirmation of the doctrine of grace through the vicarious suffering of the Servant. Paul does not use the title in application to Jesus, but the idea is prominent as a foundation of his great doctrine of grace, and his teaching in regard to the atonement. But behind Paul is the Apostolic witness as represented especially in the Petrine gospel. The priority of Peter is expressly acknowledged in Paul's declaration of the Apostolic witness to the resurrection in I Corinthians 15:3 ff. This common gospel preached by all, which Paul declared that he "received," held as fundamental that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." The doctrine of the Servant is thus central in this primitive gospel as preached primarily by Peter.

3. *The Petrine Tradition and Influence.* Petrine tradition survives in a twofold form, a western type represented in the Gospel of Mark, purporting to give the report of the preaching of Peter as gathered at Rome some time after the Apostle's death, and

another form current apparently in Syria. In both forms the obvious purpose is to show Jesus as the Anointed Servant, making more or less definite allusion to the Isaian prophecy. The conception appears first in the sources of Acts. The title is used four times (Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30), and Jesus is represented as the Anointed Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. So again in Peter's speech before Cornelius: "Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him" (Acts 10:38).

This common theme of Petrine gospel shows its influence to some extent in all the Gospels, and, in fact, is the starting point from which all are derived, *i.e.* the doctrine that in Jesus the Isaian prediction of the "anointing" of the Servant was fulfilled. But it is especially conspicuous in First Peter, and in all those sources which show connection with the Petrine influence. In I Peter the voice is indeed Paul's; but not Paul's alone. It is an echo of Peter's witness when we read of Christ the Servant: "Who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed" (I Peter 2:24). In the Didache, which is perhaps a Petrine source, we find the Servant-doctrine reflected in the title παῖς applied to Jesus and in the phraseology of the liturgy.

Again we find the Servant-doctrine prominent, and the same attitude taken toward it as in Luke-Acts, in the earliest of our uncanonical Petrine sources, the so-called Preaching of Peter (κήρυγμα

Πέτρου). This has been referred to already but is worth citing again at this point. This writing, quoted by Clement, relates the awakening of the Twelve to the truth of the Resurrection as follows: "We indeed opening the books we have of the prophets have found these things which (are said) in parables, and some in enigmas, and some openly and explicitly calling Jesus the Christ; we find also his manifestation (parousia) and death, and his cross, and all the other sufferings which the Jews inflicted on him, and the Resurrection (egersis) and Assumption (analepsis) into heaven, to have been done before Jerusalem fell, as it had been written it was fitting that he should suffer, and what should come to pass thereafter (ἃ εἶδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται). Therefore, having learned these things we believed God on account of what had been written of him" (*Strom.* 15:148). This presents almost exactly the same view as found in Luke 24:25-26. The Preaching of Peter is about contemporary with our canonical Book of Acts, and manifestly has the same conception of the predictions of the sufferings of Christ in the Scriptures.

First Peter is the only document in the New Testament which reflects clearly and unambiguously the doctrine which Paul tells us was the primitive faith, by definitely stating that Jesus suffered as an offering for our sins, and by connecting the doctrine with its basis in Deutero-Isaiah (I Peter 2:23-25). Even though this may not be an authentic letter of Peter, yet it is written in the name of Peter and attempts to give his teaching. And the further back we go to-

ward Peter's own time the more clearly does it appear as a probable contribution of Peter's own faith. To what extent Peter had been influenced by the earthly life and teachings of Jesus we cannot say, but the first form of the atonement doctrine held by a disciple of Jesus, based on the Isaian prophecy of the suffering Servant, probably stands connected with the "turning again of Simon Peter" (Luke 22:31, 32). This great personal experience which came to Peter, probably in Galilee, after the Resurrection, marks the real beginning of the church. Peter had denied his Lord, and was now penitent. The reaction came, if we may believe the Petrine literary tradition, through the witness of the Scriptures.

4. Peter's Vision of the Glorified Christ. Peter believed, in common with his fellow-Jews, in the presence with God of Moses, the great intercessor for Israel, together with Elias, the one whom God would send with Moses to bring about the great repentance. He probably believed in the atoning power of the suffering and death of the righteous, as illustrated and taught, for instance, in the books of the Maccabees. The Fourth Book of Maccabees, speaking of the death of the seven sons of a widow who were slain by Antiochus for their fidelity to the Jewish religion, reports that the last one of the seven spoke thus to the tyrant: "But I, as my brethren, give up both body and soul for the laws of our fathers, calling upon God that he may speedily become gracious (Gr. *propitious*) to the nation" (IV Maccabees 7:37). The martyred Eleazar when at the

point of death prayed to God: "Thou knowest, O God, that though I might have saved myself, I die in fiery torments for thy Law's sake. Be merciful to the people and be content with our punishment on their behalf. Make my blood a purification for them and take my life as a ransom for their life" (IV Maccabees 6:27-29; cf. 16:22). Peter may have been familiar with the vision of Judas the Maccabee before the great battle with Nicanor, when Judas saw Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who prayed for the people and the holy city, together with the martyred high priest Onias "with out-stretched hands invoking blessing on the whole people of the Jews" (II Maccabees 15:12 ff.).

Peter's vision of the glorified Christ after the Resurrection must have had associated with it elements of these visions of Moses, and Elias, the dying testimony of Eleazar, and the fate of other heroes and martyrs of his people. But the most prominent of all must have been the figure of the interceding Servant, by whose supplication, and for whose sake, our iniquities will be forgiven. As Professor B. W. Bacon says, "It was this element of personal religious experience, the forgiveness of sin for Christ's sake, that made Peter's call to his apostleship of the circumcision the fit prelude to the experience and gospel of Paul."[8] This experience of Peter probably marks the begining of the definite application of the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah to Jesus, and the influence of the doctrine in the New Testament

[8] *The Story of Jesus*, New York, 1926.

and the Apostolic Fathers from now on is due largely to the Petrine influence.

IV. Why the Doctrine of the Servant Was Neglected and Obscured

As we have seen, the idea of the suffering Servant was basal in the self-consciousness and mission of Jesus, and it formed the foundation-stone for the early missionary preaching of Peter and the other apostles, and it was accepted by Paul and became central in his "gospel of the grace of God." And yet, strange to say, this central and basal doctrine was early neglected and obscured. We find the title παῖς as applied to Jesus only four times in First Acts, and a half-dozen more vestigial survivals in the most ancient liturgical formulas as in First Clement and the Didache. We find in Paul not one application to Jesus of the ancient title "Servant," but there is substituted the title "Son," and that is true almost everywhere else. For example, in the story of the Voice from Heaven at the Baptism Jesus is spoken of as "the Son," although the passage from Isaiah, "Behold my servant whom I have chosen," has to be altered to the form, "Behold my *Son* whom I have chosen." Not only the title is later neglected, but the conception of forgiveness because of the vicarious suffering of the Servant disappears. It has vanished entirely from the Lukan writings, which use over and over again the Isaian prophecy of the suffering of the Christ, but never connect it with forgiveness.

1. *The Jewish-Christian Reaction to Neo-Legalism.* The obscuration of this central doctrine was

due, in the first place, to Jewish-Christian reactionaries who desired "not to be persecuted for the cross of Christ." The Judaizing Christians, in their opposition to Paul's gospel of the free grace of God to Jew and Gentile alike, were guilty of neglecting and obscuring "the blood of the cross." The cross was always a "stumbling block" to the Jews. This led to a reaction to a form of neo-legalism.

2. The Dangers of Abuse. Closely identified with the above reaction was the feeling that the Isaian doctrine was liable to great abuse. The dangers attending the doctrine of "grace" as preached by Paul were, in the post-apostolic age, only too apparent to friend and foe alike. In Jewish-Christian circles there was apprehension of such "lawlessness" as Paul himself had found it necessary to rebuke. In the early days the gospel message had been an offer of free forgiveness because of the vicarious suffering of the Servant, "that he might bring us to God." But in the post-apostolic age there is a feeling that the message must be toned down in order to keep out the unworthy. And so in the generation after Paul the "word of the cross" fades almost out of view behind a doctrine of the higher law. The emphasis of the message has passed from "grace" to law, from "faith" to repentance, as "the work of God" which brings salvation. The reaction in this direction went too far, and through the centuries, in the judgment of the present writer, this turning away from the "cross of Christ" and neglecting the great idea of redemption through the death of Christ, has had a

tendency to make less effective both the message and the work of Christianity.

3. The Rise of the "Higher" Christology. The rise of the "higher" Christology led to the neglect of the human side of Christ's nature. There was loss of interest in the earthly life of Jesus, the life of suffering and humiliation. This movement began with Paul in his lack of interest in knowing Christ "after the flesh." The gospel writers carry forward this tendency. According to Mark, Jesus was Son of God by adoption following his baptism. Matthew and Luke make the manifestation of Christ's divine sonship date from the very inception of his earthly existence. Like Mark, both regard his life as other than one of humiliation only. There was a glory also in his earthly life. Hermas of Rome (115-140 A. D.) strove to combine Paul's doctrine of "the holy pre-existent Spirit which created the whole creation" (Simon 5:6), with that of the suffering and exalted Servant.

The rise of Gnosticism (at its height 135-160 A. D.) brought forward views which did much to obscure the doctrine of the suffering Servant. Back of this had been the attempt to explain a seeming contradiction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience. The earthly life of humiliation was so contrasted with his pre-existent and post-existent glory, that the simplest solution of the Christological problem may well have seemed to some the denial of the reality of his earthly life altogether. Marcion's movement was probably the most dangerous of those associated with Gnosticism. He sun-

dered Christianity from its historic background as completely as had the more speculative Gnostic theories. He denied a real incarnation, and condemned the Old Testament and its God. This must have had large influence on the trend away from the doctrine of the Servant.

Orthodox Christianity, as we know it, however, was triumphant after awhile, and the doctrine of the suffering Servant as applied to Christ has persisted, although this Servant-doctrine has probably never had the full weight of influence that it has deserved in the light of the real historic meaning of the life and mission of Jesus. The full realization of the great ideal of Deutero-Isaiah has been found in Jesus of Nazareth. Perhaps some day all men, including the great scholars and leaders of Israel itself, will come to see this, and then he shall truly "be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high."

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Addis, W. E., "The Psalms," Peake's Commentary. New York, 1920.

Allen, W. C., "The Gospel According to S. Matthew," Int. Crit. Comm. New York, 1907.

Apocrypha, The, Revised. 1895.

Bacon, B. W., The Apostolic Message. New York, 1925.

———, An Introduction to the New Testament. New York, 1900.

———, Christianity Old and New. New Haven, 1914.

———, He Opened to Us the Scriptures. New York, 1923.

———, Jesus and Paul. New York, 1921.

———, Jesus the Son of God. New Haven, 1911.

———, The Story of Jesus. New York, 1926.

Baron, David, The Servant of Jehovah. New York, 1923.

Beecher, Willis, J., The Prophets and the Promise. New York, 1905.

Bertholet, Alfred, Zu Jesaja 53. Freiburg, 1899.

Bigg, Charles, Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, Int. Crit. Comm. New York, 1901.

Bousset, D. Wilhelm, Kyrios Christos. Göttingen, 1913.

Box, G. H., The Book of Isaiah. 1908.

Briggs, C. A., The Messiah of the Apostles. New York, 1895.

———, The Messiah of the Gospels. New York, 1894.

———, Messianic Prophecy. New York, 1886.

Brown, W. Adams, "Expiation and Atonement (Christian)," Hastings' E. R. E.

Brown, Driver, and Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Boston, 1906.

Budde, Karl, "'Ebed-Yahweh Songs' in Isaiah 40-55," in Am. Jour. of Theol., July, 1899, pp. 499-540.

Burton, E. D., Smith, J. M. P., and Smith, G. B., Biblical Ideas of Atonement. Chicago, 1909.

Buttenwieser, Moses, "Messiah," The Jewish Encyclopedia.

Case, S. J., The Evolution of Early Christianity. Chicago, 1914.

Charles, R. H., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Oxford, 1913.

————, The Book of Enoch. Oxford, 1912.
Charteris, A. H., Canonicity. Edinburgh, 1880.
Chase, F. H., "Peter (Simon)," Hastings' D. B. New York, 1911.
Cheyne, T. K., The Prophecies of Isaiah, vol. ii. London, 1881.
————, "Servant of the Lord," Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol. iv. New York, 1903.
Clemen, Carl, Primitive Christianity and Its Non-Jewish Sources. Edinburgh, 1912.
Coxe, A. Cleveland, Ante-Nicene Fathers. New York, 1895.
Cremer, H., Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek. Edinburgh, 1892.
Curtiss, S. I., "Critical Theory of the Servant in Isaiah 52: 13-53," Biblical World, vol. viii, 1896, pp. 354-363.
Davidson, A. B., Old Testament Prophecy. Ed. J. A. Paterson. Edinburgh, 1912.
————, "The Servant of the Lord," Expositor, vol. viii, 2nd Series, pp. 250-269, 350-369, 430-451.
————, The Theology of the Old Testament. New York, 1912.
Delitzsch, Franz, Commentary on Isaiah (tr. S. I. Curtiss). Edinburgh, 1880.
————, Messianic Prophecies. Edinburgh, 1880.
————, Old Testament History of Redemption (tr. S. I. Curtiss). 1881.
Denny, James, Jesus and the Gospel. New York, 1908.
————, The Death of Christ. New York, 1902.
Dorner, J. A., Doctrine of the Person of Christ, vols. i-iii. Edinburgh, 1861.
Driver, S. R., Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, pp. 230-246. New York, 1900.
————, Isaiah: His Life and Times. London, 1888.
Driver and Neubauer, The 53rd Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters. Oxford and London, 1877.
Drummond, R. J., The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ. 1900.
Fairweather, W., "Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period—The Messianic Hope," Hastings' D. B., Extra Vol., pp. 275 ff.

FOAKES-JACKSON and K. LAKE, "Christology," in The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. i. London, 1920.
FRAZER, J. G., The Golden Bough, Part III, "The Dying God." 1922.
FULLERTON, KEMPER, Prophecy and Authority. New York, 1919.
GARVIE, A. E., Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus. New York, 1907.
GIESEBRECHT, D. FRIEDRICH, Der Knecht Jahves des Deutero-Jesaia. Königsberg, 1902.
GILBERT, G. H., The First Interpreters of Jesus. New York, 1901.
————, The Revelation of Jesus. New York, 1899.
GLOVER, T. R., The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire. London, 1920.
GOODRICK, A. T. S., The Book of Wisdom. London, 1913.
GOODSPEED, E. J., Index Apologeticus sive Clavis Iustini Martyris Operum aliorumque Apologetarum Pristinorum. Leipzig, 1912.
————, Index Patristicus sive Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum Operum. Leipzig, 1907.
GOULD, E. P., "The Gospel According to St. Mark," Int. Crit. Comm. New York, 1907.
GRANBERY, J. C., "Christological Peculiarities in First Peter," Am. Jour. Theol., pp. 62-81, 1910.
————, Outline of New Testament Christology. Chicago, 1909.
GRAETZ, H., History of the Jews, vol. ii, Chap. vi. Philadelphia, 1893.
GREGG, J. A. F., "The Wisdom of Solomon," Cambridge Bible, 1909.
GRAY, G. BUCHANAN, "Messiah," Ency. Britannica.
GRIERSON, CHAS. T. P., "Prophet," Hast. Dict. of Christ and the Gospels, p. 432.
GUNKEL, VON HERMANN, Ein Vorläufer Jesu. Zürich, 1921.
HALL, G. STANLEY, Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology. 1917.
HARNACK, A., Date of Acts and Synoptic Gospels, Eng. tr. 1911.
————, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche," Berlin Academy, xxv.-xxviii, 1926, pp. 212-238.

———, History of Dogma, (tr. 3rd Ger. edition), Williams and Norgate, London, 1894.
HARPER, WM. R., "Foreshadowings of Christ in the Old Testament," Bib. World, vol. vi, Dec., 1895, pp. 401 ff.
HARRIS AND MINGANA, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, vols. i, ii. Rylands Library, 1920.
HIRSCH, EMIL G., "Servant of God," The Jewish Encyclopedia.
HITCHCOCK, F. R. M., "The 'Servant' in Isaiah and the New Testament," Expositor, Oct., 1917, pp. 309-20.
HITCHCOCK AND BROWN, Didaché, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." New York, 1884.
HOLTZMANN, O., The Life of Jesus (tr. Bealby and Canney). 1904.
HOUGH, L. H., "Servant of Jehovah," Int. Stan. Bible Encyclopedia.
JOHNSON, F., The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old. Philadelphia, 1896.
JOSEPH, MORRIS, Judaism as Creed and Life. London, 1903.
KAUTZSCH, E., "Religion of Israel," Hastings' D. B., Extra Vol., pp. 707-708.
KENNEDY, H. A. A., "The Pauline Theology," Peake's Comm. New York, 1920, pp. 807 ff.
———, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions. 1913.
KENNETT, R. H., The Servant of the Lord. London, 1911.
KOHLER, K., "Atonement," The Jewish Encyclopedia.
———, Jewish Theology. New York, 1923.
KÖNIG, E., The Exiles' Book of Consolation. Edinburg, 1899.
LAKE, KIRSOPP, The Apostolic Fathers, vols. iii. London, 1919.
LEVY, REUBEN, Deutero-Isaiah. London, 1925.
LIGHTFOOT, J. B., The Apostolic Fathers. London, 1907.
LINDEMANN, H. H., "Apostolic Christology," Biblical World, 46: 14-25, July, 1915.
LOCK, W., "Christology of the Earlier Chapters of the Acts," Expositor, IV Series, 1891, pp. 178-190.
LOEWE, HERBERT, "Judaism," Hastings' E. R. E., p. 583.
LUMBY, J. R., "The Acts of the Apostles," Cambridge Bible. 1897.
MACKENZIE, W. DOUGLAS, "Jesus Christ," Hastings' E. R. E., vol. vii. New York, 1915.

MACKINTOSH, R. H., The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ. New York, 1912.
————, "Christ's Thought of His Death," Expositor, vol. viii, Dec., 1919, pp. 419-429.
MATHEWS, SHAILER, The Messianic Hope in the New Testament. Chicago, 1905.
MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., "The Messiah," Expositor, Jan., 1923.
MCFADYEN, J. E., "The Book of the Prophecies of Isaiah." New York, 1910.
MACFARLAND, C. S., Jesus and the Prophets. New York, 1905.
MCGIFFERT, A. C., A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. New York, 1897.
MOFFATT, JAMES, "Hebrews," Int. Crit. Comm. Edinburgh, 1924.
————, The Theology of the Gospels. London, 1912.
MONTEFIORE, C. G., The Old Testament and After. London, 1923.
————, "The Spirit of Judaism," The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. i. London, 1920.
MOWINCKEL, D. SIGMUND, Der Knecht Jahwas. Giessen, 1921.
NICOLL, W. ROBERTSON (Ed.), The Expositor's Greek Testament, 5 vols. London, 1910.
OESTERLEY, W. O. E., Studies in Isaiah XL.-LXVI. London, 1916.
OESTERLEY AND BOX, The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. New York, 1907.
ORELLI, C. VON, The Prophecies of Isaiah, Tr. J. S. Banks. Edinburgh, 1889.
OTTLEY, R. R., The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint. London, 1904.
OXFORD SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, 1905.
PEAKE, A. S., The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament. London, 1904.
PLUMMER, A., "The Gospel According to St. Luke," Int. Crit. Comm. New York, 1903.
RACKHAM, R. B., The Acts of the Apostles. London, 1912.
RASHDALL, HASTINGS, The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology. New York, 1920.

REAGAN, J. N., The Preaching of Peter: The Beginning of Christian Apologetic. Chicago, 1923.
RYLE AND JAMES, The Psalms of Solomon. Cambridge, 1891.
SANDAY, W., Christology and Personality. Oxford, 1911.
SCHURER, E., A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Second Div., II, "The Messianic Hope," pp. 126-187. New York.
SCOTT, C. ANDERSON, "Christ, Christology," Hast. Dict. Apostolic Church, vol. i, pp. 177-198.
SCOTT, E. F., The Apologetic of the New Testament, Williams and Norgate. London, 1907.
————, The Beginnings of the Church. New York, 1914.
————, The First Age of Christianity. New York, 1926.
SKINNER, J., "Isaiah," Cambridge Bible. 1902.
SMITH, GEORGE ADAM, "The Book of Isaiah," vol. ii, Expositor's Bible.
STALKER, JAMES, The Christology of Jesus. New York, 1899.
STANTON, V. H., The Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Edinburgh, 1886.
————, "Messiah," in Hastings' D. B.
STARK, A. R., The Christology in the Apostolic Fathers. Chicago, 1912.
STEVENS, G. B., The Teaching of Jesus. New York, 1919.
STRACK AND BILLERBECK, "Das Evangelium nach Matthäus," Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. München, 1922.
SWEET, L. M., "New Testament Quotations," in the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.
SWETE, H. B., The Apocalypse of St. John. London, 1906.
THAYER, J. H., A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. New York, 1887.
TOY, C. H., Quotations in the New Testament. New York, 1884.
URWICK, WM., The Servant of Jehovah. Edinburgh, 1877.
VINCENT, MARVIN R., Word Studies in the New Testament, vol. i. New York, 1887-1900.
WADE, G. W., The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. London, 1911.
WALKER, WILLISTON, A History of the Christian Church. New York, 1918.

WALLIS, WILSON D., Messiahs: Christian and Pagan. Boston, 1918.
WEISS, JOHANNES, Christ: The Beginnings of Dogma, (tr. V. D. Davis). London, 1911.
WENDT, H. H., The Teaching of Jesus. vol. i. Edinburgh, 1892-1899.
WESTCOTT, B. F., The Epistle to the Hebrews. London, 1914.
WORKMAN, G. C., The Servant of Jehovah. 1907.
WRIGHT, CHAS. H. H., "The Pre-Christian Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah 52, 53," Expositor, vol. vii, 1888, pp. 364-377, and 401-420.
ZELLER, EDWARD, The Acts of the Apostles, vols. i, ii (tr. Joseph Dare). London, 1875.

NOTE: It is a matter of regret that A. Harnack's article entitled, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche," in the *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* XXV-XXVIII, pp. 212-238, Berlin, 1926, came into the writer's hands too late to be used in the preparation of this dissertation, although it was available for use in the revision for publication; but in examining this able contribution to the subject I do not discover anything to cause any material change in my findings. On the contrary Harnack's work but helps to confirm my main conclusions.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Exodus

24 : 6-8 56
32 : 32 ff. 56

Psalms

2 : 1, 2 61
2 : 7 .....44, 46, 54, 101, 115
22 : 8 34
Chap. 22 ....29-31, 52, 59, 119

Isaiah

41 : 5 xix
41 : 8-10 .....4, 9, 11
42 : 1-4 .....3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 30, 31, 34, 35, 44, 45 f., 53, 101, 115, 116-118
42 : 10 xix
42 : 19, 20 .....4, 5, 7, 10
43 : 10, 12 .....4, 9, 10
44 : 1, 2, 21 .....4, 9, 10, 31
45 : 4 .....4, 10
48 : 20 .....4, 10
49 : 1-6.....xix, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 30, 31, 82, 121
50 : 4-9....3, 5, 6, 7, 13-15, 76
51 : 4 xix
52 : 13-53 : 12.....xix, 3, 5, 6, 15 ff., 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 43, 55, 56, 57, 58, 69, 72, 75 ff., 81, 95 f., 106, 111, 112, 113, 115, 122, 124 f., 126, 131 f., 133, 139, 141
61 : 1, 2 .....47, 48 f., 58, 106, 121 f.
63 : 15 ff. xviii

Jeremiah

30 : 10 f. 4, 10
46 : 27 f. 4, 10

Ezekiel

28 : 25 10
37 : 25 10

Daniel

12 : 3 31

Matthew

3 : 15 47
3 : 17 .....115, 118
4 : 1-11 .....35, 45, 101 f.
8 : 14 114
8 : 17 .....115 f.
11 : 2-11 .....106 f.
11 : 4-6 .....49, 78, 122
11 : 25-30 .....107 f.
12 : 18-21 ..... 45, 53, 116-118
12 : 38-41 51
13 : 34, 35 109
16 : 21-28 51
16 : 22 42
17 : 5 .....53, 118
17 : 12 51
17 : 22, 23 51
20 : 17-19 51
20 : 28 ..54 ff., 111 f., 114, 118
23 : 34-39 109
26 : 28 .....56 f., 90, 114, 118
27 : 41-43 .....118 f.
27 : 46 29

Mark

1 : 9-11 .....44, 45, 110
2 : 20 50
8 : 31 ff. 51, 53
9 : 7 53
9 : 30-32 51
10 : 32-34 51
10 : 45 .....54 ff., 90, 111 f.
14 : 21 57
14 : 24 .....56 f., 90, 111, 118
15 : 28 .....58, 113
15 : 31, 32 .....118 f.
15 : 34 29

Luke

1 : 32, 33, 35 120
1 : 46-55 121
3 : 22 44
4 : 1-13 .....45, 101 f.
4 : 17-22..47, 48, 58, 121 f., 125
7 : 18-28 .....106 f.

7:21-23 .....48, 49, 122
9:22-27 51
9:30, 31 .....52, 123
9:35 .....45, 53
9:43b-45 51
10:21, 22 .....107 f.
11:29-31 51
11:49-51 109
18:31-34 51
22:20 .....56 f., 58, 118
22:31, 32 .....90, 165
22:37....46, 57-59, 113, 122 f.
24:25, 26, 27....58, 66, 74, 93, 124, 138, 164

JOHN

1:29, 36 ...49, 94, 106, 115 f., 129, 131 f., 135
12:24, 25 133
12:34 42
12:38 .....76, 132
12:41 77

ACTS

2:27 68
3:14, 15 .....68, 134
3:13, 26..53, 61 f., 64, 68, 163
3:18 .....61, 66, 68, 74, 93
4:27, 30 .....53, 61 f., 64, 68, 134, 163
8:26-40 .....28, 69, 71
8:34 22
10:38 163
13:27, 29 .....61, 74, 81
13:47 .....61, 81
17:3 .....82, 93
20:35 80
26:22, 23 .....61, 82, 93

ROMANS

4:25-5:11 75
5:12 83
8:33, 34 76
10:16 76
15:20, 21 .....73, 77
15:3 80

I CORINTHIANS

1:23, 24 .....65, 74
11:23-25 56
Chap. 13 80
15:3 .....54, 72, 73 f.

II CORINTHIANS

5:21 .....73, 75
8:9 79
10:1 .....34, 80

GALATIANS

2:20 74
3:13 83
4:27 81
6:1 f. 80

PHILIPPIANS

2:1-11 .....77 f., 84
2:16 79

COLOSSIANS

2:15 81

I TIMOTHY

1:16 81
2:5, 6 81

HEBREWS

5:5 44
5:8 87
9:14 34
9:28 .....126 f.

I PETER

1:10, 11 93
1:18, 19 .....34, 94, 98
2:21-24...28, 55, 75, 89, 95 f., 115 f., 126, 135, 163, 164
3:8-18 .....93, 94
3:18 69
4:1 94

I JOHN

1:7 134
2:1, 2 .....69, 134
3:5 135
3:16 135
5:20 135

INDEX

Abarbanel, Don Yizhaq, 41 f.
Abraham, 9, 10; R. Ibn Ezra, 41
Abuse, Dangers of, 85, 168 f.
Acts: author of, 60; evaluation of the source or sources, 59 ff.; Jesus called the παῖς in, 61-63; passages for study in, 60 f.
Apocalypse, doctrine of the Servant in the, 128-130; the Lamb in the, 128 f.
Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, doctrine of the Servant in the, 32 ff.; worth of to student of the New Testament, 136
Apollinarius of Hierapolis, 62
Atonement, the, in Paul's interpretation of the death of Christ, 82-84
Augustine, 36, 44
Authors, two different, 6 f.
Authorship, difference of not convincing, 7

Babylon, xiii, xxi; Talmud of, 24
Bacon, B. W., 50, 56, 62, 67, 80, 85, 99, 109, 112, 166 f.
Baptism, of Jesus, 44 ff.; the Voice at the, 45, 118
Barnabas, the Epistle of, 145 f.
Beecher, Willis J., 158
Bertholet, 23
Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 141
Budde, K., 26

Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan, 39 f.
Chase, F. H., 148 f.
Cheyne, 19, 97
Christianity, the origin of, 90 f.
Christology, the earliest, 65; in Barnabas, 146; in Hebrews, 126; in Mark, 110; in Matthew, 113; in the Fourth Gospel, 130; of the Petrine speeches in Acts, 89; of the Second Source, 108; Paul's, 84; the high, 86, 146, 150; the rise of the "higher," 169 f.; the simple, 70, 86, 135
Claudius Apollinarius, 147 f.; the True Passover in, 148
Clement, First, 142 f.; of Rome, 62
"Coast-Lands", xviii f.
Collective theories of interpretation, 25 f.
Combination of different points of view, 8 f., 24 f.
Cross, the mocking of Jesus on the 118 f.; the stumbling of the, 65-68, 168

Davidic king, as chief messianic figure in the Old Testament, 157
Davidson, A. B., 28, 156 f.
Death of Jesus, 98, 113; "according to the Scriptures", 74, 91; early disciples' appeal to Scripture in explanation of, 161 f.; how explain, 65, 68, 71, 141; in Hebrews, 126; in First John, 134; in the Apocalypse, 129; Paul's interpretation of the, 82-84; predictions of the, 50-53, 93
Delitzsch, 8, 24
Denney, James, 46 f., 55, 115
Didache, 62, 143, 163
Diognetus, the Epistle to, 147
Doctrine of the Servant: Does it go back to Jesus

himself? 161; full realization of idea in Jesus, 170; prominence due largely to Petrine influence, 160-167; why neglected and obscured, 167-170
Driver and Neubauer, 42 f.
Duhm, 12, 14, 19, 22, 23

Ebed-Yahu Songs, the varied explanations of, xii f.
Ecclesiasticus, 37-38, 108
Eleazar, 23, 165 f.
Elijah, 38
Encyclopaedia Biblica, 59
Eunuch, Philip and the, 69-71

Fathers, the Apostolic, 36; conclusions as to use of title in, 148 f.; doctrine of the Servant in, 140-150
Fourth Gospel, doctrine of the Servant in the, 130-134
Fulfilment, "manifold", 158; the real sense in which found in Jesus, 155-160

Garvie, A. E., 106, 115
Gentiles, 19, 27, 28
Giesebrecht, 8, 12, 14, 25, 26
Gnosticism, 146 f., 169 f.
"Grammatico-historical" method, 154
Gunkel, 23

Harnack, 69
Heathen nations, 31
Hermas, 146 f., 169
"Holy and Righteous One", the, 68, 69, 134
Hebrews, the Epistle to: an echo of Isa. 53:12 in, 126 f.; doctrine of the Servant in, 125-127; Jesus' life and character in, 127

Ignatius to Polycarp, 143 f.
Individual interpretation, strength of and objections to, 25
Israel, as the Servant of Jehovah, 3-5, 7-8, 10, 26 f.; the historic nation, 4, 31; the Servant-son, 32 f., 36

Jacob, 10, 31, 37, 38
Jacob Jacobs, 66
Jehoiachin, 23
Jerusalem, Talmud of, 24; the wail over, 108 f.
Jesus: as Messiah in the Fourth Gospel, 131; as the Son of God, 103 f., 110; at his baptism, 44 ff.; at the Transfiguration, 53-54; earthly life of, 67, 85 f., 110, 113, 125, 131, 169; his last words to John the Baptist, 49-50; his words at the Last Supper, 56-57; in the synagogue at Nazareth, 47; in the teaching and self-consciousness of, 44 ff.; life and character in Hebrews, 127; predictions of his death, 50-53; the mocking of on the cross, 118 f.; the realization of Isaiah's great idea in, 22; the temptation of, 101-105
Jewish Encyclopedia, Jacob Jacobs in the, 66
Johannine Writings, authorship of, 127 f.; doctrine of the Servant in, 127-135
John, the Epistles of, doctrine of the Servant in, 134 f.
John the Baptist, last words of Jesus to, 49-50, 105-107
Jonah, the sign of, 51
Jonathan, the Targum of, 39
Joseph, Son of, as Messiah, 42
Joses, Rabbi, 40
Judas, the Maccabee, 166

Kennedy, H. A. A., 72, 84

Lamb, in the Apocalypse, 128 f.; in the Fourth Gospel, 131 f.
Loewe, Herbert, 41
Luke, the Gospel of: character of, 120; doctrine of the Servant in, 119-125; in chapters 1 and 2, 120 f.

Maccabees, Fourth, 55, 83 f., 165 f.
Magnificat, 121
Mark, date and authorship of, 110; the Ransom-Passage in, 111 f.; the saying at the Last Supper in, 112 f.
Marti, K., 26
Mary, Song of, 121
Matthew, Gospel of: a quotation from Isaiah (53:4) in, 115 f.; character of, 113; doctrine of Servant in, 113-119; quotation of Isa. 42:1-4 in, 116-118; the mocking of Jesus on the cross in, 118 f.; words at the Last Supper in, 118 f.
McGiffert, A. C., 88
Messiah: a suffering and dying, 37, 42; as Son of David, 38; Christian, 22, 24; in the Fourth Gospel, 131; Jesus as Jewish Messiah in Matthew, 114; Paul's conception of as a Pharisee, 71; Rabbinical doctrine of Son of Joseph, 42; ruling and conquering, 40; Servant seen in the, 156 f.; the idea of a suffering, 39, 43, 52, 53, 65 f., 132
Messianic hope, 37
Messianic prophecy in Barnabas, 145 f.
Metrical structure, 10, 11, 12, 14
Moffatt, James, xx, 45, 69, 88, 100, 110
Montefiore, C. G., 43
Moses, xv, 55 f., 112, 165
Mosheh El-Sheikh, R., 42
Muratori, Canon of, 36
Mythical figure, the Servant as a, 24

Nazareth, in the synagogue at, 121 f.
Neo-Legalism, the Jewish-Christian reaction to, 167 f.
New Testament writers, free manner of citing O. T. passages, 151 f.; quotations from Isaiah and other O. T. books, 155; use made of O. T. Scriptures by, 151-155

Old Testament, 114, 124; free manner of citing, 151 f.; later references in the, 29-32; use made of by New Testament writers, 151-155

Παῖς, double sense of, 87; dropping out of title, 149 f.; early usage and application of to Jesus, 90; history and usage of the word, 63-65; Jesus called the, 61-63; not found in the Pauline Epistles, 72, 78; the title rare, 140 f., 148, 167; used five times in the Didache, 143; used in the sense of "son," 32, 33
Passover, Jesus Christ the True, 148; victim, 129 f.
Paul: his conception of the Messiah as a Pharisee, 71; his idea of the "Servant of Yahu", xiv; his interpretation of the death of Christ, 82-84; what he received from the early Christians, 71-73
Pauline Writings, doctrine of the Servant in, 71 ff.; pas-

sages in, based on Deutero-Isaiah, 73-82; why doctrine of Servant is not more prominent in, 85-87
Peake, A. S., 8, 12, 14, 18, 19, 116
Pentecost, 91
Peter, his "turning again", 90, 165; his vision of the glorified Christ, 165-167
Peter, Acts of, 139; Gospel of, 139; Preaching of, 137-139; the Resurrection in Preaching of, 138, 164
Peter, the First Epistle of: a passage on redemption in, 94 f.; a quotation from Isa. 53 in, 95 ff.; date and keynote of, 92; doctrine of the Servant in, 87-98; the Christological figure in, 62; the sufferings of Christ in, 93 f.
Petrine speeches in Acts, 59, 62, 89, 98; teaching in the name of Paul, 81
Petrine influence, prominence of the doctrine due largely to the, 160
Petrine tradition, and influence, 162-165; Servant doctrine confined to, 136 f., 139
Philip, and the Eunuch, 69-71
Polycarp, Ignatius to, 143 f.; Martyrdom of, 62, 144 f.
"Propitation", 134 f.
Pseudepigrapha, in the Apocrypha and, 32-39

Q, 99-109; date of, 100; extent of, 99, 109; last message to John the Baptist in, 105-107; thanksgiving and gracious invitation in, 107-108; the temptation of Jesus in, 101-105; the wail over Jerusalem in, 108 f.

Quotations from the Old Testament, 151-155

Rabbinical literature, in the Talmud and the, 39-43
Ransom-Passage, the, 54-56, 111 f., 118
Redemption, a passage on, in 1 Peter, 94 f.
Righteous, the, 33, 34, 35; man in Wisdom, 119; Servant, 104 f., 134; wicked speaking of, 35
Rosenmüller, 8

Schmiedel, 59
Schurer, 65
Sea-Land, xiii, xxi
Sellin, 23
Septuagint, the, 31, 48, 78 f., 80, 97, 117, 125, 131 f.
Servant, the, approaching exaltation, 18; as a religious teacher, 23; as an individual, 23, 25; as Israel, 7 f.; as King Jehoiachin, 23; as Zerubbabel, 23; career of, 19; characteristics of, 13, 21, 22, 79 f., 122; choice of, 9, 11; features of, 20; portrait of, 11; ultimate glory and exaltation of, 20 f.; why the doctrine is not more prominent in Paul, 85-87
Servant of Yahu, as cheering evangelist, xxi; religion of from outside Israel, xv ff.; who is the, Introd., xi-xxi
Servant of Yahweh: application of the title to the actual Israel, 3 ff.; application to Israel not so clear, 5 ff.; as historic character, xii; collective historic Israel, xii; divine ideal of Israel, xii; esoteric group in Israel, xiii; in Deutero-Isaiah, 3-29; "Messiah", xii; myth-

ical figure, xii, 24; order of the prophets, xiii; spiritual Israel, xii; who is the, 21-26, 158 f.
Servant passages, authenticity of the, 6-9; brief interpretation of the four, 9-21; direct prophecy of the future Messiah in, 24; in Isaiah 40-55, 3-6
Silvanus, share of in writing 1 Peter, 87 f.
Simeon, 121
Simon Magus, 139
Skinner, 116
Smith, G. A., 8, 16, 18, 24
Solomon, Odes of, 30; Psalms of, 38-39; Wisdom of, 32-37, 103 f., 109, 119
Son of David, as Messiah, 38, 42; Jesus as, 120, 129
Son of God, 110, 120, 127, 130 f., 135
Son of Joseph, as Messiah, 42
Son of man, 53, 62, 133
Source, the Second or Teaching (Q), doctrine of Servant in, 99-109
Stanton, V. H., 37
Stoicism, 84
Streeter, B. H., 100
Sufferer, the ideal, 29
Suffering, expiation through, 83; of Israel, vicarious, 28; problem of, 36 f.; vicarious, 82
Suffering Servant, the, 15 f.
Sufferings of Christ, the, in Hebrews, 126; in Luke, 123 f.; in 1 Peter, 93 f.
Supper, Jesus' words at the Last, 56 f., 112 f., 118 f.
Sweet, L. M., on "New Testament Quotations", 152 f.

Talmud, in the, and the Rabbinical literature, 39 ff.; figure of Moses in the, 112; of Babylon, 24, 40; of Jerusalem, 24
Targum, Aramaic, of Isa. 53, 91 f.
Temptation of Jesus, the, 101-105
Testaments of the xii Patriarchs, 80
Thanksgiving and gracious invitation, 107
Theology, how it grows, xi
Toy, C. H., 76 f., 133
Transfiguration, Jesus at the, 53-54, 123
"Transgressors, reckoned with", 57-59, 122 f.
Trypho, Justin's "Dialogue with", 40-41

Walker, W., 84
Westcott, B. F., 126
Wisdom, Hebrew, 84, 103; hymn of, 107; of God, 109; of Solomon, 32-37, 119

Yahu-worship, xiii
Yepheth Ben 'Ali, 41

Zerubbabel, 23

BT198 .C3
Carpenter, Levy Leonidas, 1891-
Primitive Christian application of the

BT
198
C3

Carpenter, Levy Leonidas, 1891-

Primitive Christian application of the doctrine of the servant, by Levy Leonidas Carpenter ... with an introduction by Allen H. Godbey ... Durham, N. C., Duke university press, 1929.

3 p. l., [v]-xxi, 185 p. 20cm. (*Half-title:* Duke university publications)

"Written originally as a doctoral dissertation at the Graduate school of Yale university."—Pref.

"Select bibliography": p. 171-177.

335926

1. Title. 1. Bible. O.T. Isaiah 40-55--Criticism, interpretati etc. 2. Bible. N.T.--Relation to O.T. 3. Jesus Christ--Person and offices.

Library of Congress BT198.C3 29-8707

CCSC/ej